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Africa (Sub-Sahara)

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JPRS-SSA-87-092

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Results of SI African Development Conference Analyzed

34200/03a Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Oct 87 p 12

[Article by Carola Kaps, Dakar: "African Democracy and the Socialist International: Results of the Conference in the Senegalese Capital"]

[Text] Dakar, October—It is only because of the complaint of Leopold Senghor that the Socialist International (SI) is ignoring Africa and its political development that the SI established an "Africa Study Group" during a conference in Vienna 2 years ago. To be sure, the SI had already turned to the question of apartheid several years ago and established a joint South Africa Group with the governments of the "front" states as well as the leaders of the "African National Congress" (ANC) and the Swapo; the interests of the rest of the Dark Continent to the south of the Sahara, however, remained in the background behind the interests of the SI in Europe and South America. Under the joint chairmanship of the former Austrian Foreign Minister Jankowitsch and the Senegalese Minister of Communication Djibo Ka, the Africa Group has made the International more aware of the continent and its manifold political, economic and ecological difficulties. The colloquium on "Democracy and Development in Africa," for which about 20 African parties were invited to Dakar during the last conference of the SI, is the most important proof to date of the determination of the SI to find an answer with a socialist orientation to the crisis of Africa.

Democracy has always been a scarce commodity in Africa. South of the Sahara, with the exception of Senegal and Gambia, the unity party or the military have ruled with more or less totalitarian methods. Pluralism in the sense of a well-developed multiparty system and a free and independent press is just as unknown as the observance of human rights, at least in most countries. Nevertheless, the argument of some African heads of state that their nations cannot afford the luxury of a multiparty system because of ethnic, religious or other cultural or traditional factors cannot be discarded out of hand. In the arbitrarily drawn national boundaries of the young African states, there are too many tribal antagonisms and too many religious conflicts but also too many illiterates and too inadequate means of communication and infrastructural systems for a multiparty system to function as it would in Europe. Scarce human and financial resources would be wasted in party strife instead of serving the common good, says, for example, Aristides Pereira, president of the Cape Verde Islands. The great exception Senegal has not only the luck of ethnic and religious homogeneity but also, through its special position in the French colonial empire, political traditions that favored a democratic development after independence. According to Senegal's President Abdou Diouf, the historical and cultural peculiarities of his country prevent the Senegalese democracy from being an

exportable article; each African state must, even if it looks to Senegal as a model, find a form of government corresponding to its particular conditions and peculiarities.

The diversity of the black African continent and the multiplicity of its tribes, cultures, customs and traditions are probably the most important experience that the still strongly Eurocentric SI is taking home from Dakar. "We cannot apply the Westminster model everywhere, we must take into account the special characteristics of Africa," says Willy Brandt. Africa authority Jankowitsch adds that the SI should not condemn the unity party of African provenance. In other words: in its new declaration of principles, the SI will have to come up with a broader definition of pluralism to accommodate itself to Africa and its multifarious forms of political expression. As long as the unity party is not—according to Jankowitsch, for example—ideologically indoctrinated and repressive and does not determine every facet of political life but sees itself only as the motor of the state, then it should be possible to come to terms with the concepts of the SI.

The precondition for such a rapprochement, which would result in full membership in the SI, is, of course, common value concepts. The basis of democracy—the SI emphasized this clearly in Dakar—is always the constitutional state; democracy and the observance of human rights are just as inseparably linked as are democracy and development.

In this connection, the SI is returning from its days in Dakar with the conviction that the debt crisis in Africa weighs much more heavily than has heretofore been thought in Europe. Since the economic crisis of most African states is seriously hindering efforts at democratization, the SI believes that increased cooperation and aid from Europe are among the most important preconditions for supporting African attempts at democratization. According to the French socialist Jospin, Europe must remember its special ties with Africa and understand it increasingly as a complementary continent. According to the SI, a cancellation of the public and private foreign debt of the poorest African states must be a natural consequence of the recognition of these privileged relations; likewise the support for the cause of Africa in the international financial organizations and the struggle for a fairer and more social world economic system that gives Africa a chance for real development.

9746

Terrorist Acts Condemned by Lebanese Spokesman

34190014 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French
14 Sep 87 p 9

[Editorial by Bassim Jaber, Doctorat D'Etat in Economics from the University of Abidjan, member of Cultural Section of the Lebanese World Cultural Union, member of the Academy for the Development of Marketing in the Ivory Coast.]

[Text] It has always been said that it is difficult to express what one feels, especially when it is a very deep feeling, one that comes from the heart.

The feelings of respect and the acknowledgement of the Lebanese people towards the countries of Africa in general and for Nigeria, Zaire, Senegal and above all the Ivory Coast, that has at its head, the father, the Wise, the Leader, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, in particular, are sincere and infinite. No one, not the fanatics, the lunatics, or the others can destroy these feelings.

It is necessary to know that the African countries are among the few countries which have understood the necessity of helping the Lebanese people over this difficult period - the war in Lebanon - this "imported" war. They have opened up their borders and allowed them the use of their facilities. Also it is good that the Lebanese government's representatives in these countries collaborate with the local authorities in refusing to extend consular privileges to the individuals who are not guaranteed by families known to the Embassy or to individuals who do not possess a valid tourist visa or who have a dubious past.

It is necessary to keep in mind and to pass on to all these individuals who embrace certain ideologies, the necessity of safeguarding the existence of the Lebanese families in Africa. And as it has been so well written in the newspaper EL CHIRAA the governments initiating these revolutionary thoughts must know that they can find thousands of the faithful in their own homeland who are ready to sacrifice themselves without the necessity of using the "Lebanese passports" for their cause.

Today, in spite of the profound friendship, the Lebanese-African relations are strained and it would not take much to make matters worse. What would happen to these families who were born, who grew up and learned to love Africa and the Africans? What would happen to their parents who live thanks to their help?

The threat comes first from those individuals who falsely declare bankruptcies that tarnish the image of thousands of Lebanese living tranquilly, without problem. Next and in a more savage way, there are those who take Africa as a base for their hostage operations in order to affect Western, especially French interests, forgetting the

import of these countries in the emancipation of the Lebanese in Africa and while underestimating the relations between France and Africa.

The Lebanese are wondering why the European interests should be affected in this hospitable soil which is Africa, when at the very same time the planners of these acts of terrorism meet with the Western world to promote technical, economic and military cooperation. Is it not paradoxical that these same planners protect Western embassies in their own countries and use a Lebanon which is already torn apart and innocent in order to increase pressure abroad in the pursuit of their fanatic objectives.

In the end, who would benefit from the return of thousands of Lebanese families back home where they will meet difficulties from their life in Africa? Are the revolutions ready to accept and nourish these thousands of individuals? If they are, let them begin to take care of the hundreds of families living in Lebanon who have enormous problems just to survive with the devaluation of their money.

So, with one united voice, we condemn all persons who take the path of destruction and horror, and all persons who work to support these individuals for whatever cause. These persons should reflect on the fate of the Lebanese-Africans and should remember beautiful Lebanon and its excellent relations with the African countries.

The friendly governments, especially the African governments, know and understand that these few lost individuals do not constitute a nation and that a few bad sheep do not lead the whole herd astray.

The Lebanese will never forget Africa, their second homeland, they know that a mother who raises a child is as important, if not more so, than the mother who gives birth. The Lebanese recognize this and demonstrate it by participating in the development of Africa in all possible ways, industrial, commercial, real estate, and education (school, sports), etc.

The Lebanese want peace in Lebanon, peace in Africa, peace in the world, the peace of our revered President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, which "should not be a word, but a behavior."

00014/7310

Kuando Kubango Tribal Chiefs Invited to Luanda
34420034b Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 15 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] A delegation of traditional authorities from the province of Kuando Kubango has been in the nation's capital for several days, at the invitation of the president of the MPLA-Labor Party and the People's Republic of Angola, Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

According to a note from the Council of Ministers' Secretariat, which reached our editorial offices yesterday, the supreme leader of the party and the nation will receive the aforementioned group in a audience.

Also according to the source that has been cited, the delegation of traditional authorities from Kuando Kubango Province has already begun carrying out an extensive program in connection with its stay in Luanda, with visits to important sites of socioeconomic and historical interest.

2909

Kundi Paihama Urges Population To Be Vigilant in Huambo
34420033A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 10 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] Comrade Kundi Paihama, member of the Political Bureau of MPLA-PT, appealed here Friday for the local residents to close ranks around the Party and to be more rigorous in their vigilance against the puppets who are in the pay of Pretoria.

Kundi Paihama was speaking at a well-attended rally held in the Samacau neighborhood to introduce the bandits who had been captured by the Forces of Internal Defense, Security, and Order, as well as other countrymen who had joined the Angolan family, protected by the clemency policy.

The Political Bureau member was sharply critical of the cowardice of those who refrain from denouncing the criminals for fear of reprisals. On the other hand, he was effusive in his praise of all Angolans, from Cabinda to Cunene, who risk their lives to ensure national independence.

Speaking also in the Umbundo language in order to be better understood by those attending the rally, Kundi Paihama referred to the need for organization among the citizens so that they may denounce and repel the assaults of the enemy. In this regard, he recalled the flawless organizational structure set up by the residents of N'giva (Cunene), which made it possible to evacuate children and the elderly, saving many lives, when the city was bombed by South African aircraft some years ago.

The Party executive also denounced the haughty, petit bourgeois attitude of certain individuals who, having been placed in positions of leadership and responsibility, become too accustomed to privilege.

Kundi Paihama said that such individuals must be educated in the spirit of humility and the principles of socialist morality.

Another official who spoke during the rally was the provincial commissioner, Marcolino Jose Moco, member of the Party's Central Committee. He, too, exhorted the people of Huambo to be more vigorous in confronting the attempts by the puppets to sow confusion and instability.

Marcolino Moco also appealed for an increase in production and stressed the need for all workers to join the campaign against the black marketeers and those in the business enterprises who misappropriate the goods produced there.

12830

Defense Minister Pedale on RSA, Political-Military Situation
34420032d Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 11 Oct 87 p 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Pedro Maria Tonha, Pedale, by Joao Pokongo, in Cabinda; date not specified]

[Text] Cabinda—Col Gen Pedro Maria Tonha, Pedale, member of the party's Politburo and defense minister, granted JORNAL DE ANGOLA an interview in this city before returning to the nation's capital after having presided at the opening ceremony for the period of combat, political, and operational training of the Armed Forces for 1987-88.

[JORNAL DE ANGOLA] How would the Comrade Minister describe the recent acts by the armed bandits against this province's defenseless population?

[Answer] I think that the activities carried out by the bandits in the province are acts that are part of the imperialist strategy aimed at destabilizing the Angolan revolution and all the goals that our party has established to make Angola a country in which its citizens may live in peace, construct suitable conditions for their prosperity, and also find the means for guaranteeing what the colonials who were here for many centuries failed to do; because Angola is a country feared by the imperialists. They are afraid of this development that has been established; and it is in this context that the enemy has been attempting to engage in acts of destabilization, and acts of murder against our defenseless population, especially the population which at present needs its prosperity, and is attempting to solve the problems that the contingencies of the war that our people are undergoing

have brought about. As everyone knows, Cabinda Province is a province that was the laboratory of our revolution and the vanguard in our country's struggle for liberation; and the enemy is quite well aware that Cabinda Province will always be the model for all the development of everything we need to accomplish in the context of our revolution. It is on this basis that the enemy is trying to carry out acts of destabilization against the economic projects established for the development of this province, to create panic among the population. And it is on this basis that they may create conditions for distorting our party's political line, and precluding the rapid development of the country and, primarily, preventing Cabinda Province from being able to attain the goals that the party has established, in accordance with our country's total strategy for economic development.

[Question] Have the real bandits triggering the activities here in Cabinda been identified already, and can you state the location from which they are starting out?

[Answer] Well, I think that the news media are completely aware of who the enemies operating here are. There is a faction called the "Coffee Faction," because, based on what is known about the armed bandits, there was what is termed "FLEC" [Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave] in Cabinda Province; and the latter became divided into several factions, one of them being that "Coffee" group. It probably has its headquarters in the neighboring territory, from which they start out so as to engage in their acts against the population along the border with the Republic of Zaire. Those bandits are most likely associated with those from "UNITA," and they are the ones committing acts of destabilization, that is, banditry, against our population in the province.

[Question] What is the country's politico-military situation, in view of the South African racists' recent acts in the southern section?

[Answer] We have been careful to inform the international public on what is happening in the southern and eastern parts of our country. Recently, we published in our press the activities being conducted by the South African racist forces against our population and our Armed Forces in certain areas, particularly in Cunene and Kuando-Kubango Provinces, under the pretext of pursuing the SWAPO guerrillas fighting in the interior of Namibia. That reason is groundless, because there are no SWAPO combatants there; the acts by the South African troops are, indeed, in support of the "UNITA" puppet gangs, which have suffered considerable casualties because of the action taken by our Armed Forces.

Recently, in Cunene Province, the South Africans have engaged in a series of aggressive acts against our Armed Forces in the Xangongo, Mongua, and Ondjiva areas, where they are preventing the passage of our columns supplying certain units that we have in those areas. They

are using aircraft and motorized infantry, and are coming into direct combat with our forces. We have also recovered some armored vehicles from the enemy, and that is obvious proof.

As for the overall situation, I should call it progressive. We have won many victories on the battlefield. Our Armed Forces have carried out operations in certain areas in which the bandits are attempting to destabilize the economic activity, and those operations have brought much success, guaranteeing security and economic development. Therefore, during recent times it may be claimed that the greatest concern is over the intensification of the direct acts of aggression that the South African forces are carrying out against our Armed Forces, and the major concentration of military equipment along our border; as well as the daily violation of our air space, not only with reconnaissance flights, but also with attacks and bombing of our positions.

[Question] The South African defense minister recently voiced threats against the Front Line countries. How would you describe those threats?

[Answer] That is nothing new, because they have always acted in this way since our independence; they have always threatened the Front Line countries. As we know, they have directed several operations against Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana. The apartheid regime is doomed to disappear, in view of the struggle that the South African people are carrying out inside South Africa. The racists are seeking ways of defending themselves, and they cannot do anything but attack the neighboring countries which are offering hospitality to the South African compatriots fleeing from the terror, massacres, and racial discrimination in South Africa.

[Question] Finally, what instruction have you left in this province for improving combat readiness, with a view toward neutralizing the enemy action here in the northern area?

[Answer] The necessary instructions are contained in my address at the opening ceremony for combat, political, and operational training of the Armed Forces in 1987-88. We have also held meetings on the staff level, in which the comrades from the party leadership participated; and I handed down some instructions on the manner in which they must act toward the politico-military situation here in the province. And I think that the instructions given will help the military, party, and government officials in the province to be able to find ways of attacking the problems that have arisen, not only from the war, but also involving the province's economic development.

Military Students in USSR

34420017c Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 3 Oct 87 p 12

[Text] The first methodological meeting of the chiefs and political commissars of the Angolan national groups in the USSR's military training establishments took place on 26 and 27 September in Moscow, under the slogan "For Strengthening the Military Discipline Organization, With a View Toward Achieving Greater Academic-Scholarly Results."

During the meeting, questions of how to apply the regulations concerning military students abroad were dealt with, as well as putting into action the directive of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAPLA) concerning political study.

The meeting was directed by the military attache of the Angolan embassy in the USSR, Colonel Benigno Vieira Lopes, and members of the party and the party youth in the USSR participated in it.

09895/09599

Benguela's 7th Military Region Performance Praised

34420017b Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 4 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] In a political ceremony marking the official opening of the 1987-1988 military instruction year, Major Domingo Miguel Derrama, the head of the policy board of the 7th military region, stated that nearly 78 UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] bandits were killed by the Armed Forces stationed in the above-mentioned region during the 1986-1987 instruction year.

This high-ranking officer, who spoke on Thursday [1 October 1987] to officers, sergeants, and soldiers at the Kassequ Instruction Center, added that, in addition to recovering a large quantity of war materiel, as well as its equipment—in which are included mines, howitzers, grenades, and mortars—in this same period, more than 4,000 people have been reintegrated into the Angolan family, and are currently benefitting from the policy of clemency decreed by our party.

Maj Derrama furthermore praised the participation of the masses in reporting enemy actions, having concluded an appeal to all the masses of young people to get involved in the task of defending the country.

Participating in the ceremony were members of the party, the party youth, OMA [Organization of Angolan Women], the diplomatic corps accredited in the province, officers, sergeants, soldiers, and guests.

09895/09599

Journalist Visits, Describes Lubango

34420034a Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese
10 Oct 87 p 49

[Article by Carlos da Matta: "Lubango: an Island of Calm in the Angolan War"]

[Text] Lubango is the Angolan city with the best food situation, although it is far from satisfactory. On about a dozen kilometers surrounding it, the calm has been complete. To the north and east, however, the battles with UNITA are occurring constantly.

To travel from Benguela to Lubango, the safest way is to take a plane to Luanda, and from there, another one to Lubango, subjecting yourself to the complicated internal formalities and long waits imposed by TAAG [Angolan Airlines]. The paved road through Catengue and Qui-lengues is prey to ambushes, and the expedient of the long used Dombe-Lucira-Namibe road does not inspire confidence either, since the news of an attack on it.

It is on the section between Lucira and Namibe that the Sao Nicolau concentration camp is located, built by the colonial PIDE [International Police for Defense of the State]-DGS [General Directorate for Security], and still used today by the "state security." The highway connection between the capitals of Namibe and Huila, through the desert and the verdant Leba mountain area is not devoid of danger either; but, nevertheless, the movement of military vehicles and, to a lesser extent, civilian ones, is considerable.

Lubango is the Angolan city with the best food situation, although it is far from satisfactory. Located in the middle of a farming and livestock raising area, the peasants seldom agree to sell their products, preferring direct barter; because the kwanza makes it virtually impossible for them to purchase anything. In the city, it is said that the provincial government intends to make massive imports of certain products in great demand, to be used for bartering, as a first phase of economic recovery. But the kaluanda bureaucracy has been slow to give a response.

The provincial commissar, Lopo do Nascimento, has taken more enlightened action than his predecessor, attempting to achieve rapprochement with the small producers, allowing the popular Lady of the Mountain festivals, and even organizing some cultural events. But Huila and the other two provinces of the FAPLA fifth politico-military region are suffering from the same structural problems as the rest of the country; and the war is an intensely experienced reality here.

On several dozen kilometers around Lubango the calm is even total here; mainly because the leading tribe, the Muilas, are peaceful people amongwhom UNITA has not managed to carry out any mobilization, nor has MPLA-PT been able to establish any cells, with countless desertions from military service.

But to the north, the boundary with Huambo, and to the east, near Kuando-Kubango, the battles between FAPLA and FALA are constant. In a southerly direction, the communique from MINDEF [Defense Ministry] published in Luanda and accusing the South African Air Force of having bombed Xangongo, put the government military posts from Quihita to Cahama on alert.

KK's bloody battles, in turn, have had repercussions on Huila, particularly in the section between Cuchi and Matala, the site of the hydroelectric power plant that supplies the entire region. Moreover, close to the dam there is a major joint base of the FAPLA and FAR [Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces], equipped with anti-aircraft missiles.

Foreign Presence

In Lubango and vicinity, the Cuban military presence is massive, and the city is headquarters for one of the largest (and perhaps the most modern) air bases in Angola, built by the Yugoslavs. The presence of Soviet advisors is also evident among the fifth region's staff, whose top-ranking leader is also Lopo do Nascimento. A person who has already held the position of prime minister (an abolished post) and minister of foreign trade and planning, his removal from the central government took place after the single party's second congress, at which he was challenged by one of the internal movements.

However, reports that have circulated intermittently attribute to the president of the republic the intention of summoning him to new, important duties in Luanda.

A region with great Catholic influence (the monument to Christ the King and the devotion to the Lady of the Mountain have their significance), Lubango constitutes a bishopric, the current head of which, Dom Franklin da Costa, is head of the Angolan Bishops Conference. His statements against the war and against the famine that has affected several groups, even in a province with enormous agricultural potential (delivered during his latest trip to Europe) have been censored by the Angolan news media.

Meanwhile, during the last week of September, the number of civil war victims totaled about 2,000, including dead and wounded; most of whom were involved in the battle on the road from Kuito-Canavale to Mavinga (where the 1985 scenario was repeated), affecting almost exclusively youths recently incorporated into the armed forces.

Water Supply Saboteurs Arrested in Cunene

34420017d Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 2 Oct 87 p 12

[Text] Six individuals who were responsible for cutting off the potable water supply to the population of the provisional seat of the government of Cunene for a period of 15 days were recently arrested and presented to the inhabitants of Castanheira de Pera by the provincial delegate of the interior, Assistant Superintendent Alexandre Borges.

The individuals in question were engaged in the destruction of certain materials and in stealing fuel drums that were to supply the water-transporting motor to Castanheira de Pera.

The arrest of the six saboteurs was due to the action of the People's Vigilance Brigades (BPV). The individuals in question wore Angola national army uniforms to make it look like the theft had been carried out by elements of the army.

According to the secretary of Cunene's MPLA-Labor Party [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], Antonio Cambinda, upon intervening in the ceremony, he invited the residents in Castanheira de Pera to stress people's vigilance.

Antonio Cambinda recalled the war which is being waged against Angola, a fact that he said should mobilize the determination of all the people of Angola. "We must be prepared for this war, in order to put an end to it and not allow reaction to get organized in the rearguard," he said.

09895/09599

Trade With USSR

34420032a Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 9 Oct 87 p 12

[Text] Moscow—According to a report from the Soviet news agency, TASS, the commercial exchanges between Angola and the Soviet Union during the first 6 months of this year amounted to 37.8 million rubles.

The trade between the two countries consists basically of farm machinery, vehicles, ships, navigation equipment, air communications facilities, fuel, raw materials, and agricultural products.

TASS notes that the Angolan-Soviet economic cooperation has developed specifically in the fields of energy, road construction, transportation facilities, agriculture, and others.

The Soviet Union is also participating in the construction of the Capanda dam, with a power of 500,000 kilowatts; which will make it possible to procure nearly twice the installed power of all the country's electric power plants.

2909

GDR Aid To Reach 8 Million Marks in 1987
34420032b Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 8 Oct 87 p 12

[Excerpts] This year, the total volume of solidarity shipments from the German Democratic Republic sent to Angola will amount to 8 million marks, equivalent to 135 million kwanzas, according to an announcement made yesterday by Gotthelf Schulz, that country's ambassador accredited to Luanda, on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the GDR's founding.

This figure was based essentially on donations from the GDR population, including, among other items, medicines, clothing, food, and educational materials.

During the course of the meeting, that diplomat discussed matters associated with his country's development in the various specific areas which, according to the speaker, is "due to the people's diligent, creative endeavor."

He said that the GDR is a socialist industrial country ranking, economically, on the list of the 10 most advanced in the world.

Gotthelf Schulz cited the success achieved in his country, noting that, last September, the growth rate of national production was 4 percent in the industrial sector, with a 104 percent increase in the amount of industrial goods produced; and, similarly, the net production rose by 6 percent, with a reduction occurring in production costs.

In conclusion, the speaker attested to his country's unswerving position toward the Front Line states, as well as the constant support for our people, in this extensive process of national reconstruction; while at the same time condemning the Pretoria regime and its military invasions into the neighboring sovereign countries, namely, Angola and Mozambique.

2909

Economic Cooperation With Bulgaria Detailed
34420033d Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 10 Oct 87 p 2

[Text] Economic and commercial relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Angola have been growing steadily closer in recent years, based on the principles of reciprocal respect for interests.

Trade between the two countries has developed at a steady pace. During the past 5 years (1982-86), it has risen to approximately 63 million convertible leva.

Bulgarian exports to Angola consist predominately of foodstuffs, light industrial products, and chemicals. Angola exports primarily lumber and coffee.

An important factor in the strengthening of bilateral commercial ties and the signing of specific contracts is the participation of the two countries in the Plovdiv International Fair and the FILDA, in Luanda, respectively. The results of the 1985 Luanda fair are indicative of this; at the time of the Bulgarian participation, contracts worth more than 5 million convertible leva were signed.

The outlook for eventual dynamic development of bilateral commercial exchanges is increasingly related to the need for joint creation of new export resources in the People's Republic of Angola. By marketing such new export products, extracted or produced with Bulgarian assistance, Angola will increase its foreign exchange receipts and be in a position to boost imports, including imports from the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This is one of the objectives of the production units that have been set up in the People's Republic of Angola with Bulgarian assistance. Some of them are in the metal machinery sector (assembly of hoists and water pumps); others are in the raw materials sector (cutting of tropical lumber).

Economic cooperation between the two countries features various forms of industrial cooperation, through the establishment of joint production and commercial companies, etc. The implementation of specific projects is coordinated and controlled by a Joint Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific/Technical Cooperation set up by the two countries. Parallel to the spheres of joint action already mentioned, agreements have been signed under the auspices of the Commission concerning feasibility studies and the implementation, on a short-term basis, of cereals and oilseeds production, cooperation in fisheries, extraction of non-metallic minerals and raw materials for the chemistry industry, and development of the energy infrastructure.

Bulgaria has sent approximately 200 cooperators to the People's Republic of Angola to render assistance in agriculture, industry, planning, and education. It is expected that such aid will increase during the coming years.

The principles governing the realization of the objectives of the economic cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Angola are stated in the Program of Economic, Scientific/Technical and Cultural Cooperation for 1986-90, which was signed by the governments of the two countries.

There are good prospects for the fruitful and mutually advantageous economic, commercial, and scientific/technical cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Angola to continue to develop and solidify in the interest of both countries.

12830

National Merchant Marine Situation Described

34420017a Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 6 Oct 87 p 2

[Article by Joao Rodrigues]

[Excerpts] To attain its activity and make it more dynamic, the DNMMP [National Merchant Marine and Ports Board] has the following state economic units under its supervision: ANGONAVE, UEE, Maritime Lines of Angola; CABOTANG, UEE, Angolan National Cabotage; AGENANG, UEE, National Maritime Agency of Angola; SECIL MAR, UEE, Secil Maritima; all the ports and port businesses, and all the business firms and transporters of maritime cargo.

In order for a country such as ours to have a powerful machinery that will facilitate its imports and exports, it should, as an element of its overall import-export activity, undertake a transportation policy guided by maximum efficiency, one that will move it toward the goal of self-sufficiency. In fact, to reach distant markets such as the North Atlantic and the Gulf of Japan while meeting deadlines, to lower freight rates, offer insurance, and minimize freightage, thus passing from user to furnisher of services to the sector—these are a few conditions of competitiveness that reveal much of the interdependence between foreign trade and transportation.

It is extremely vital to Angola today to develop this link if we aspire to capture CIF instead of just FOB, thus introducing a stronger market-logic handle for the opening and broadening of channels that are subject to the attraction of foreign currency, as well as reducing the outflow of foreign currency.

It was guided by this spirit and the urgent need to satisfy Angola's foreign trade that the government decided to make certain changes in the area of shipping, creating ANGONAVE in 1978 as a result of the nationalization of the former structure, NAVANG.

ANGONAVE's Route

ANGONAVE was born with the basic idea of turning into the unit that would be in charge of long-distance maritime transportation of goods and services from and to the country. From the previous structure it received a scant inheritance, which included in its arsenal the ship Ngola, which has been on the sea 17 years to date.

Even so, the new company is forced, as the result of the situation generated, to expand its transportation capacity, with the quantitative increase in material and human resources, to satisfy the explosive growth in foreign trade, almost always at the cost of a reduction in the quality of service provided.

On the other hand, external structures which have immediate and important influences on the company's activities have not accompanied its growth. This has prevented it from achieving a higher level of organization and efficiency in the areas of transportation, operation, and maintenance. We are referring namely to the port situation (where sluggishness leads to major immobilizations of the fleet, creating problems for generating new voyages).

With few duly trained and experienced technical personnel, a bloated structure that is not harmoniously developed and is without a well defined business policy, and pressed, as we have already said, to satisfy ever-increasing transportation needs, ANGONAVE is now experiencing increasing inefficiency, a growing loss of business dynamism and commercial aggressiveness, and the continued worsening of the quality of service rendered, as well as a certain inability to control and manage the enormous resources placed at its disposition.

It is therefore necessary to find a way to shake off the present lethargy, to furnish the conditions essential to satisfy better and more dynamically the increasing requests for the economic and social development of the RPA [People's Republic of Angola]—a solution that also requires the expansion of or changes in the current scant central installations—thus leading the company to assume its true role as a vital nucleus of the country.

But even so, work goes on, and from the single ship that it inherited, the Ngola, which made it possible to begin operating as a tramp line, the company now owns a fleet of seven ships and performs its activities on the basis of semiregular service, since its movements are often dictated by the geographical location of the bulk of merchandise to be transported. At this moment the company covers the following areas:

South America—An area served by the ASA-LINE line (Angola-South America-Angola), with stops at the ports of Rio de Janeiro and Santos, and optional stops at other Brazilian and Argentine ports.

Northern Europe—An area served by ANEA-LINE (Angola-Northern Europe-Angola), with stops at the ports of Rouen, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Rostock, and Gotemburg, and optional stops at other ports.

Iberian peninsula area—Served by APA-LINE (Angola-peninsula-Angola), with stops at the ports of Cadiz, Lisbon, Leixoes, and, optionally, other ports on the Mediterranean and the Adriatic.

The Last 3 Years' Work

The curious reader may ask: What has ANGONAVE done since its creation? The balance of all the work carried out, if it were to be presented here in the pages of our magazine, would be so extensive that we will limit ourselves to just the last 3 years' activity.

During that period, the company has developed its activity with ships from the national fleet and others in the freightage mode. Up until March 1985, it had eight units of its own, but, in the following period, this was reduced to seven because of the sinking of the M/V Kassamba, which translated into a larger increase to the freightage market.

In the line of expansion of activities, which transportation needs are forcing on ANGONAVE, during the already-mentioned 3-year period, a total of 525,000 tons of cargo of the most diverse types was transported. In 1986 alone, the company transported a total of 200,000 tons, that is, it had an increase of nearly 2.04 percent compared to the previous year. Of this total, 84.5 percent is the share of the traffic transported in national ships and the remaining 15.5 percent represents the part corresponding to freighted ships.

It should be noted that the traffic transported on the lines of ANGONAVE is essentially FOB, and normally travels in the north-to-south direction, which means that, as a general rule, its ships go north empty. In 1986 alone, the presence of export cargo was registered, nearly 1.1 percent of the total.

During the 3-year period, the existence of a large volume of cargo in bags was noted, as well as a reduction in the transportation of containers, which went from 7,029 containers to 2,335, representing a reduction of nearly 50 percent—and a decline in use of the freightage market.

Secil Maritima: Looking for Space of Its Own

Navigation companies have long since assumed a fundamental role in the economic development of nations. These aspects of their activity are all the more prominent when it is a question of countries in search of progress and stability.

Angola is one of those countries, and Secil Maritima—the state economic unit recently incorporated through Decree Number 2/87 as a consequence of the nationalization of Secil Maritima, SARL, which served as a support to the monopolistic Secil group and whose purpose consisted of transporting cement—aims to be the faithful mirror of its ambition by growing and by deflecting the many obstacles which it finds in its way.

With a fleet of four ships of its own, among which are two long-range ones and two for cabotage and others in a freightage mode, Secil Maritima serves various destinations on three continents, with special distinction due to the Far East line, which is its biggest route. It was opened to draw cargo from the ports of Japan and Hong Kong, traditional Angolan markets; the France line, to transport wheat in bulk; and the Argentina line, to transport sacked corn, as a consequence of agreements between Importang/Secil Maritima. In this way, Secil Maritima, like ANGONAVE, functions as a basic element in Angola's foreign relations, and, simultaneously, contributes to an improvement in the timely furnishing of essential foodstuffs to the people.

It simultaneously operates on regular lines with tramp steamers.

The company's statistics point to tons of cargo as an annual average. This clearly shows the importance and the place that the company aspires to occupy in a country that, because of various conditions, has its strong point in importing.

CABOTANG: The Future With Optimism

Angolan National Cabotage—or CABOTANG, UEE—is currently enjoying a healthy financial situation, although the unevenness in currency exchange that results from Angola's being essentially an importing country inevitably shows up. Nevertheless, Cabotang looks to the future with optimism and is preparing to take stock of itself in light of the country's economic development and cooperation with the countries of Africa, particularly with those that have Portuguese as their official language. Within this scope, the agreements that have been signed take on special prominence, serving ports of neighboring or regional countries.

At the time of its creation, the company received the ships Praia Morena, Maria Lucilia Lincol, and Dengo—inherited from Sotral—Kalus from the DPCFL, and the Lunda, Cabang, and Huila, inherited from Navang (the structure that is now ANGONAVE). All these ships were already in an obsolete status and required extensive repairs or even replacing. To remedy this situation, the barges 11 de Novembro and 10 de Dezembro were acquired in 1978-1980, and, in 1984, the ships Albano Machado and Cahama. During this same period, the USSR offered three more barges.

Now CABOTANG's fleet is composed of 11 units of its own, which operate in ports that are not open to foreign navigation, as well as regionally. Its service is assured by about 303 employees, who are mostly nationals. There are also Soviet, Portuguese, Cape Verdeans, and Sao Tomeans who are specialists in machinery, naval engineering, and other activities.

During 1986, the company transported 141,071 tons of cargo, which translated into a net income of 313,507,526.50 kwanzas.

We believe that the company's bottom line will result in great part from the stable situation of Angola's foreign currency balance and from the effort to lessen the weight of third parties and thus to protect its own people.

09895/09599

Italian Oil Drilling Platform Arrives
34420034c Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 15 Oct 87 p 3

[Text] The "Perro Negro [Black Dog] 5" drilling platform from the Italian firm Saipem, which will operate in Soyo's No 1 off-shore block, arrived in Luanda recently.

The modern platform left Ravenna (Italy) on 9 September, and traveled 6,000 miles until its arrival in the port of Luanda. It can operate at a water depth of 90 meters, and drill in excess of 6,000 meters.

The "Perro Negro 5" will drill the No 2 Safueiro well in Soyo's No 1 off-shore block where, under the direction of the concessionary firm, SONANGOL [National Angolan Fuel Company], AGIP [Italian Petroleum Enterprise] is conducting the operations for oil exploration, in the context of an association with other companies, such as ELF [Gasoline and Lubricants Company of France], Petrogal, Ina Naftaplin, and Naftagaz.

2909

Angolan Crude Used To Settle Outstanding Debt
35429013z Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese
24 Oct 87 p 19

[Article by Antonio Camoes]

[Text] The People's Republic of Angola paid the 1986 interest charges on its debt to Portugal this week. Payment was effected when Petrogal deposited approximately \$12.5 million (more or less 1.7 million contos) into a special account at Banco Portugues do Atlantico in payment for the importation of 100,000 tons of Angolan crude.

The first shipload of petroleum from Angola to Petrogal arrived at Sines at the end of last week. The transaction is included under the financial accord reached between the two countries at the meeting of the Joint Commission held recently in Luanda.

Another shipload, of approximately the same volume, will arrive at Sines in November. Its import by Petrogal will enable the Angolan Government to pay the 1987 interest charges on its debt, as well as part of the principal, calculated at about 70 million contos.

Only general information about the financial accord between Portugal and Angola will be released, since the two countries are not interested in having the details publicized in international economic centers. This is because the Government of Angola has paid Portugal ahead of other countries to which it also is indebted.

During the course of the discussions held to prepare for the Joint Commission meeting, it was said that the contract under which Sonangola would supply petroleum to Petrogal would permit the establishment of a strategic reserve of 300,000 tons of Angolan crude at Sines. That reserve would create a steady source of supply for Petrogal, while also enabling Angola to honor its commitments to Portugal.

The possibility of Angola selling petroleum to European countries through Portugal was also suggested during the Joint Commission preparatory meetings.

Four Ships Per Year

As far as we could determine, four 125,000-ton ships are to arrive in Portugal every year, beginning in 1988, carrying crude from Angola. Just in 1988, the Angolan Government is supposed to repay Portuguese creditor banks (Banco de Fomento Nacional, CGD, BPSM and other) about 8 million contos.

Petrogal's purchase of about 500,000 tons of unrefined petroleum products per year from Sonangola will also enable the Portuguese company to fill a quota of 20 percent of its annual purchases.

This export of petroleum by Angola will also make it possible for the country to honor its debts to Portuguese companies—obligations not included under the financial agreement between the central banks of the two countries, and not covered by Cosac, the government insurance company.

The meeting of the Joint Commission is also said to have reached an agreement on Portuguese financing of the repair work on the Barragem de Lunaun electric power plant. The first and second phases of that project involve investments of 1 million and 2 million contos, respectively.

12830

Shortage of Containers Hampers Export Sector
34420033b Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 14 Oct 87 p 3

[Text] Benguela—The regional director of Embalagens Holdains, Joao Ribeiro Neto, said during an interview in this city with JORNAL DE ANGOLA, that the plan to export bananas and fish will not yield encouraging results if the packaging sector continues in its present circumstances.

He stated that the orderly manufacture of boxes to protect the exported products is a cause of concern. Some of the factories that make packaging for Embalagens Holdains have suspended operations.

The high-ranking technical expert acknowledged that the extreme shortage of raw materials, subsidiary materials, and certain technical problems are the fundamental reasons behind the failure to meet the required goals.

"One of the prime necessities in the export of any product is proper packing, since the type and quality of the packaging directly affect the conservation and value of the product. In that area, we would be departing from economic principles if we aspire to export products without taking into consideration or creating the conditions for quality packaging," said Joao Neto.

Embalagens Holdains, assigned to the Ministry of Industry, was founded on 28 September 1962 and is regional in scope. With facilities in the industrial zone of this city, the company makes cardboard and corrugated paper for wrapping and packaging industrial and agricultural products and shellfish.

Holdains, which can produce goods worth 20 million kwanzas per month if functioning on a continuous-shift basis, is not operating at the moment, but plans to resume work shortly.

The drop in the price of petroleum on the international market has significantly affected the pace of production at Holdains, because it led to the company's exclusion from the privilege of being granted an import quota.

In this same period, the company had planned to make 1,600 tons of kraft paper and fluting to produce cartons for processors of canned fish, canned fruit, agricultural products, soap, wine, paints, pastas, crackers, etc., but the figure was cut to 500 tons because of the interruption in stock during the production process.

With the arrival this month of 1,000 tons of raw material imported under the quota granted for fish, Embalagens Holdains will probably reactivate its plant in November and make 400,000 boxes exclusively for that sector. However, the resumption of production would only be temporary, depending on regular receipt of shipments of raw materials. Therefore, the company is not making plans for 1987/88.

"The fact that we have not been allowed sufficient raw materials means that it will be impossible for us to comply with the stipulated technical plan. This quantity will not cover operations for more than 60 days," Joao Neto warned.

The economic and financial situation of Embalagens Holdains (which is organized into five departments—production, technical matters, supply, finance, and personnel) is such that it is operating at a loss. Its employees

have not been receiving their wages for almost six months. Nevertheless, in order to stabilize the current situation, management is involved in negotiations with the banking sector to obtain sufficient kwanzas to enable it to pay the salaries. The bank would be repaid on some basis yet to be determined by the parties.

In terms of the outlook for the future, director Joao Neto gives priority in the medium range to expansion of the company's installed capacity from 20 million to 40 million kwanzas per month. The technical work of carrying out the expansion would be handled by the company's own employees. It would not be necessary to seek international cooperation.

However, these measures will not be successful if the issue of the quota for purchasing raw materials is not suitably resolved. Even with the realization of its expansion initiative, Holdains will remain inoperative, despite the fact that it is one of the bulwarks of the economic life of our country.

Economic Situation of Cerval-UEE Normalized

The financial status of the beer warehouse in this province—Cerval UEE—has improved considerably after passing through a difficult period and can now be described as "normal" according to its marketing manager, Artur dos Reis Cardoso.

The efforts that have been made to meet expenses, not only for the warehouse but also for customs clearance of the raw materials in transit to Huambo and others related to the headquarters in Luanda, have paralyzed part of our business activity, Reis Cardoso later said.

At this point, Huambo brewery has debts of about 5 million kwanzas, but it is expected that this situation will be cleared up shortly. The brewery faces enormous difficulties, especially as regards shortage of long-distance transportation to bring the raw materials out of Customs, ship beer from Lubango, and perform other internal services, inasmuch as Benguela is the unit which is supposed to supply the warehouse at Lobito.

Talking about working conditions for the employees, he stated that there is only one lunch room for 60 workers, including 4 female workers. Absenteeism has fallen considerably in the wake of several campaigns to increase worker awareness of the problem, and now stands at 30 percent. The company has a Party cell and a Labor Union Commission and their work has been useful in improving worker attitudes. Everyone is engaged in the literacy program. Twenty-two are attending the third and fourth semesters—two at Puniv and four at the second and third levels, respectively. The quantity of beer distributed depends on the volume produced each week, although the province has been allocated 4,300 cases and 320 barrels per week. Benguela and Lobito get 38 percent of the cases; 200 barrels go to Benguela and 120 to Lobito, even though the latter city has more

hotels. Some new tappers have been installed to make it possible to use the beer which comes in barrels. Adding those that have been overhauled, 30 are in working condition in Benguela and 10 in Lobito. Installation of the remainder for Lobito is expected shortly. Currently the warehouse reports with great satisfaction that it has 4,000 cases of "NGOLA" empties returned by the customers and 3,000 cases of "CUCA" sent from Luanda. The availability of CUCA beer depends on Huambo, which has not given any guarantees as yet.

12830

Various Programs To Develop Cabinda Launched
34420032c Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 7 Oct 87 p 12

[Text] The work to improve the Cabinda airport, the initial phase of which has been budgeted at \$100,000, began yesterday, as part of the projects financed by CABGOC. The work is being handled by the Portuguese firm, Mota and Company, and plans call for improvements in all sectors, including the loading terminal.

It was also learned that, in connection with the projects approved for this year, to repair and improve the water supply systems for Cabinda and Landana, budgeted at \$4.65 million, the pumps and engines to be installed in certain settlements selected by the Provincial Commissariat have begun to arrive in Cabinda.

As for the installation of the television system in Cabinda, negotiated on a higher level, TPA has been assigned the responsibility for managing the project, through the submission of a work program. It was learned that nearly \$1.75 million has been set aside for this purpose.

Regarding the work associated with the Cabinda Provincial Hospital, it was reported that there will first be a discussion of the question of improving its infrastructure, before it is provided with various types of equipment.

The document on the projects for 1988, budgeted at \$10 million, to be submitted to the Council of Ministers for ratification, calls for various investments involving the state and private areas. In the latter instance, we might

mention the proposal to expand the Orix factory, estimated at \$1.5 million; while, according to the proposal, \$200,000 will be set aside for the Cabinda Industrial enterprise.

Education and health in the province have been provided for in the amounts allocated for projects in 1988, with \$2 million for the execution of several priority projects, prominent among which is the pediatric area for health.

The state minister for the production sector, Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem, a member of the Politburo, expressed gratification upon viewing the development program for the province, dealing with areas that will meet the needs of the popular masses directly.

After recalling the concern on the part of the leader of the Angolan revolution, Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, for improving the living conditions of the Cabinda population, Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem stressed the need for overseeing every type of works project to be executed as part of the program of which he is the coordinator, and not only this.

Minister "Loy" remarked: "Something more must be done for the Cabinda population"; adding that he was convinced that "the plan will culminate in an improvement in the population's living conditions."

In a brief interview with the press a few moments before leaving Cabinda, the state minister for the production sector claimed that matters relating to organization, discipline, a laissez-faire spirit, inadequate cadres, and other problems connected with economic management were the underlying factors in the failure to fulfill the plans specified in the province's development program; and called upon the local authorities to assign labor, so that the results would prove positive.

Meanwhile, the general director of CABGOC, Mr W. Lewis, voiced the willingness of the company which he heads to participate in the development programs for Cabinda Province, as well as in the projects stipulated in the document that has now been signed.

2909

Shipments Stopped for the Time Being after Attacks on Eritrean Guerrillas"]

[Text] Nairobi, 27 Oct.—The Western relief organizations have stopped all food shipments to the parts of the northern Ethiopian provinces of Tigre and Eritrea most affected by drought and famine. Several thousand tons of foodstuffs, above all grain, remain in the ports of Massawa and Asseb on the Red Sea. No one knows when the shipments will be resumed. The relief organizations are thereby reacting to the destruction of a large food shipment by the north Ethiopian organization of rebels Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) at the end of last week. On Friday, when more accurate information is available, the United Nations and Western donors want to confer in Addis Ababa on how they can continue their aid.

As early as mid-year, the Ethiopian Government indicated the lack of rain in most parts of the country on the horn of Africa and requested international aid because of the impending famine. In September, when official delegations from throughout the world attended the ceremonies in Addis Ababa that inaugurated the new constitution of the Democratic People's Republic and replaced the military regime with an elected civilian government, the government once again urgently asked the Western delegates for aid. It had not yet even approached the representatives of the communist states. At that time, it named a need for 900,000 tons of grain to prevent a repetition of the severe famine from 1984 through 1986.

To be sure, the new drought has affected the north the worst but it has also hit the other provinces of Ethiopia, with the exception of those four in which more than 600,000 people were resettled in the last 2 years. Western diplomats saw the fact that the rains have, as expected, been better in Kefa, Illubabor, Welega and Gojjam as proof that the resettlement originally recommended by the World Bank is necessary. Some Western governments and private organizations had judged it as measures to depopulate the rebellious north, although there is no resettlement at all from Eritrea, where a civil war has been raging for 25 years. There was no proof for an accusation by a French group of physicians that "100,000 people had died" in the resettlement; the new assertion that the resettlement had even cost hundreds of thousands of lives is taken even less seriously.

The EPLF has admitted attacking the column of trucks about 45 kilometers south of Asmara, the capital of the province of Eritrea, on the road to the city of Adigrat in Tigre, justifying it with "military necessity." It involved 16 semitrailer trucks of the British relief organization Band-Aid and 7 of a Catholic relief organization from

the marauders, "reports one of the drivers, had" siphoned fuel from the tanks, poured it over the grain and then set the trucks on fire." One of the UN drivers was shot and killed in the raid and several drivers of the Catholic organization were wounded. Several buses and small trucks had joined the convoy in Asmara. Since clearly nothing happened to them, diplomats in Addis Ababa think that it was not a reckless attack by local EPLF commanders but a purposeful action of the rebels.

Through its radio transmitter, the EPLF has spread the version that the guerrillas had "first driven away the escorting Ethiopian soldiers." The relief organizations point out, however, that they, just as in the previous famine, are strictly insisting this time as well that their convoys not be escorted. They should not also be involved in rebel attacks that are always possible against the soldiers. In London, the EPLF asserted that last year the relief organizations had informed it about food shipments. This time, the EPLF was "not informed and thus forced to do something."

Just as its sister organization Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF), the EPLF is against having aid shipments from the government side reach the areas that it claims. Instead, they are pressing the Western donors to turn their aid over to the EPLF and TPLF, which would then distribute it to those in need. In this way, the guerrilla troops fighting for the secession of Eritrea and Tigre obviously want to gain the sympathy of the population of both provinces for their cause. The relief organizations, however, would themselves become parties if they were to accede to this and oppose the government.

The United States, which was the largest donor 2 years ago, has already promised 115,000 tons this time as well. This aid, just as that of the EEC, is supposed to arrive before the end of this year. Speed is of the essence, for the foodstuffs must be brought to the affected areas in time so that the people will not again have to migrate long distances to reception camps where they are centrally fed. It was on these long treks that uncounted thousands of people, already debilitated by hunger, perished before reaching the camps. CDU-Representative Stercken, chairman of the External Committee of the FRG parliament, had in visits to such camps demanded even then that "the food be brought to the people rather than the people to the food." But the EPLF attack on the two shipments shows how difficult that is. The relief organizations want first to find out how they can guard against further threats to their personnel and to their shipments before they resume them.

Alexis Bezaka Seeks Presidency
34000339c Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN
NEWSLETTER in English 26 Sep 87 p 5

[Text] Alexis Bezaka seeks presidency Alexis Bezaka, 70, a former mayor of Toamasina who founded the Rassemblement National Malgache, now the Parti Democrate Chretien Malgache, announced in Paris on 23 September that he was a candidate for the next presidential elections in Madagascar. He said he counted on the support of "all Christians aware of the need to save Madagascar," and was including in his manifesto the return of the country to the franc monetary zone.

I.O.N.—The PDCM does not belong to the Front National de la Defense de la Revolution, the only legal framework for political activity in Madagascar. Mr Bezaka's move is a cover approach to the UDECMA (Union des Democratres Chretiens de Madagascar), which is in the FNDR and signed an agreement at the beginning of this year with the PDCM. Meanwhile Lucile Ramanandraibe, another opposition member in Paris, is to publish her "livre vert de l'esperance malgache," a liberal political programme, in 2 months.

/12232

6 Government Opponents Form Party
34000339b Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN
NEWSLETTER in English 17 Oct 87 p 3

[Text] Six opponents of the Malagasy Government based in France have decided to join forces in the Union des Opposants Malgaches a l'Exterieur in order to "free Madagascar from dictatorship and restore democracy." The six are Alex Bezaka, president of the Parti Democrate Chretien Malgache, Ranaivo-Rahamefy Andrianony, leader of the Comite de Madagascar pour la Democratie et le Developpement, Lucien Manjakavelo, president of the democratres Malgaches in Reims, Jacob Imbe, secretary-general of the Comite National de Defense des Libertes et pour la Vraie Decentralisation, Lucile Ramanandraibe and Elysee Ramahandry. In a press statement put out on 7 October the UOME said it had "nothing to do with" the project to set up an opposition radio station in the Indian Ocean region, which THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER mentioned in its 3 October issue (ION N 300). The UOME said the plan can only be a "manoeuver" by the government of President Didier Ratsiraka "which has never completely broken its commercial and financial links with South Africa."

I.O.N.—As far as can be ascertained at present on the opposition radio proposal, the groups which now form the UOME are not involved in it. The plan emanates from other opponents of the Antananarivo government, including French citizens who worked in Madagascar under the previous regime of Philibert Tsiranana, who support strong-arm tactics against President Didier Ratsiraka. Alexis Bezaka, on the other hand, one of the

founders of the UOME, has declared himself a candidate in the forthcoming presidential elections in Madagascar, opting for legalistic means (see ION N 299). However this new group is seeking to distance itself from the socialist or otherwise left-willing opposition represented by the internal Monima, MFM and respect, Lucile Ramanandraibe is heaped with praise in the 5 October issue of the newsletter put out by Pierre de Villemarest, a former member of the French intelligence service who founded the extreme right Centre Europeen d'Information and heads the International Conference for resistance in Occupied Countries, which preaches armed struggle as a means of throwing off "communist oppression" (see ION N 164).

/12232

Churches Oppose Single Party
34000339a Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN
NEWSLETTER in English 26 Sep 87 p 5

[Text] The Christian Council of churches of Madagascar (FFKM) came out against any possible establishment of a single-party state in the country during its second congress, held at Fianarantsoa from 10 to 15 September. The FFKM also condemned the practice of a personality cult, the politicisation of justice, and press censorship which led to the spread of rumours. It announced plans to launch a popular newspaper and start a legal aid service.

/12232

Communications with France Cut
34000337d Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN
NEWSLETTER in English 3 Oct 87 p 4

[Text] Since 29 September commercial telephone and telex links between Madagascar and France have been virtually cut officially because of work being carried out on the circuits which could last a month. Some Malagasy observers have noted, however, that the work has been programmed at a time when a project for a referendum on the continuation in power of President Didier Ratsiraka, planned for 8 November, is being discussed by the cabinet and the Supreme Revolutionary Council.

/12232

Trade Liberalization Near
34000337c Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN
NEWSLETTER in English 10 Oct 87 p 8

[Text] The closure in the near future at the demand of the International Monetary Fund of Madagascar's stabilisation funds for cloves, coffee and vanilla is causing a great deal of apprehension, both among producers of the region and European dealers. In obliging Madagascar to liberalise the trade in these three cash crops, the IMF hopes to bring about an increase in production in Madagascar by means of much higher prices for farmers. In the case of vanilla, for example, the price per kilo of green

vanilla has remained unchanged, at 1,200 malagasy francs (1.20 dollars) in spite of several recent devaluations of the currency. A kilo of dried vanilla costs the vanilla stabilisation fund 10 dollars, while the selling price FOB is 72 dollars. However, because Madagascar has a reserve of 3,000 tonnes of vanilla. Producers in the Comoros and reunion fear it will flood the market. Already Antananarivo gives discounts of 20 percent on the official price.

The extremely serious disturbances in the market which would follow indicate however that Madagascar will delay as long as possible the closing of the vanilla stabilisation fund and will begin by removing controls on cloves, whose world market price is very low at present. It is also predicted that the liberalisation of the country's three main cash crops will have a important repercussions very quickly on the banking sector. Although the IMF did not demand an end to the state monopoly on banking in the last round of negotiations with Antananarivo, experts do not rule out a move from the government soon to allow the opening of private local and foreign banks.

/12232

Appeal for Debt Moratorium

34000337a Paris *THE INDIAN OCEAN*
NEWSLETTER in English 10 Oct 87 p 3

[Text] The foreign minister of Madagascar, Jean Bernanjarah, appealed in a speech to the UN General Assembly on 6 October for a moratorium until the year 2000 on the repayment of Africa's debts. He called for direct talks

between "club of debtors" and their creditors as well as a change in the rules of the Club of Paris and Club London so that must debt repayment could be postponed until the end of the century. Without rescheduling already agreed the ratio of Madagascar's debt servicing to export revenue would be 95 percent. After rescheduling it was brought back to 45 percent, which is still a heavy burden.

/12232

Steep Rise in Fuel Price

34000337b Paris *THE INDIAN OCEAN*
NEWSLETTER in English 10 Oct 87 p 8

[Text] The Malagasy Government announced on 28 September a steep rise in the cost of petrol. The litre of regular grade was increased from 420 to 672 Malagasy francs, and the litre of premium grade went up to 730 francs. The rise had been expected since the 60 percent devaluation of the currency which came into effect last June. The decision, which is part of the "real prices" policy demanded by the International Monetary Fund, will also result in a new round of increases in public transport fares and industrial costs. And there is already talk in financial circles of another devaluation of the Malagasy franc, which could fall in worth from its present 224 to the French franc to 300 by the end of the year.

/12232

70 Nationals Invited to Libya
34000338b Paris *THE INDIAN OCEAN*
NEWSLETTER in English 17 Oct 87 p 2

[Text] Seventy Mauritians were recently invited to Libya by a Libyan diplomat in Madagascar, in connection with a forthcoming conference of the Panafrican Youth Movement. However the Socialist Working Youth League of Mauritius, which represents the movement in the island, denied all knowledge of such a project. It was thought that a number of government employees in the Mauritian delegation could be used by Tripoli to try to persuade Port Louis to restore normal relations. In January 1984 the Libyan diplomatic mission in Mauritius was expelled from the country.

/12232

Budget Contains No New Taxes
34000338a Paris *THE INDIAN OCEAN*
NEWSLETTER in English 17 Oct 87 p 7

[Text] The 1987-88 budget as submitted to the Mauritian parliament on 9 October by Finance Minister Vishnu Lutchmeenaraidoo held few surprises. The minister reasserted that only economic liberalism is profitable for the country in the present economic climate, while stressing that it was now urgently necessary to "meet the challenge of quality, even excellence, at all levels to face up to tough international competition." The proposed budget combines both optimism and caution, and Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo described as a "deviation" the government's decision to award 30 percent pay rises to its employees, equivalent to a budget deficit of 4 percent of gross domestic product.

According to the minister there are two potential threats to the national economy, namely an increase in the inflation rate, although this stayed below 1 percent in the three 1st quarters of 1987, and arise in protectionism in industrialised states. No new tax was introduced in a budget which provided for expenditure of 5,905 million rupees, an increase of 28 percent over last year, while revenue was put at 5,820 million rupees, of which 620 million will come from personal income and company

tax and 2,450 million from customs duties. Debt servicing takes up 34 percent of current expenditure, which is still a heavy charge, the minister stressed.

I.O.N.—While the budget was generally well received, a remark by the leader of the opposition and head of the Mouvement Militant Mauricien, Prem Nababsing, did not go unnoticed. according to him the budget shows signs of the "beginning of the end of the economic boom." For his part Pierre Dinan, one of the authoritative voices of the private sector, considered that it has positive aspects but that the minister's speech contained "subtle silences." On the whole, company heads think that direct and indirect taxes are still heavy and that a renewed rise in inflation could jeopardise the economic progress of recent years.

In addition Mr Lutchmeenaraidoo announced in an interview published in the October issue of the international financial monthly Institutional Investor that a stock exchange would be opened soon and by January 1988 Mauritius would have offshore banking facilities. He also forecast a complete removal of exchange controls.

/12232

Motive for Singapore Investment
34000338c Paris *THE INDIAN OCEAN*
NEWSLETTER in English 3 Oct 87 p 6

[Text] Mauritius is currently showing increasing interest in attracting investment from Singapore. A mission of prospection organised by the consultants Peat Marwick in conjunction with the Mauritian parastatal Media Institute and the private sector, visited the southeast Asian island state from 18 and 23 September. A certain number of joint projects were discussed, including the establishment in Mauritius of a camera factor, and another producing jeweller for the European market.

In addition, by setting up in Mauritius Singaporean businessmen see a way of getting round the ban imposed by their own government on trading with South Africa. A visiting mission expected in Port Louis next January, will look at the possibilities Mauritius might offer in this respect.

/12232

Machungo Receives Ghanaian Donation
34420007b Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
13 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] A check in the amount of \$150,000 (which is 60,000 contos) was delivered yesterday [12 October 1987] to the prime minister, Dr Mario Machungo, by Ghana's ambassador to Mozambique, Chris Hesse, who resides in Harare, Zimbabwe, and is the envoy of the president of Ghana, Jerry Rawlings.

This amount is in addition to the sum of \$100,000 (nearly 40,000,000 meticals) delivered by the same emissary to Mozambique's ambassador to Zimbabwe, Francisco Madeira, last April, as was announced at the time.

Chris Hesse said that this amount is earmarked to help Mozambique lessen the devastating effects of the war of aggression that is being waged against it by the apartheid regime through the armed bandits that are active in our country.

According to this dignitary, the aid comes in response to an appeal from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in the sense of the African countries' lending aid to Mozambique with a view toward confronting the economic crisis that it is going through as a result of the war.

"We think that apartheid will be eliminated very shortly and that peace will arise in Southern Africa," said Chris Hesse.

In thanking him for the gesture, Dr Mario Machungo reiterated that Ghana's solidarity with our country dates from the times of the armed struggle for national liberation.

"In the name of the people of Mozambique, the government, and President Chissano in particular, please communicate our gratitude to our friends the people of Ghana, and especially to President Jerry Rawlings," said Mario Machungo, adding that "what we will remember will be the gesture, not just the amount."

09E95/09599

MNR Official Quits Over Power Row
34000096b Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English
29 Oct 87 p 23

[Text] Lisbon—The former European spokesman for the Mozambican National Resistance he and other Lisbon-based militants were quitting the rebel group because of damaging intrigues within the movement.

Mr Paulo Oliveira, who was replaced as the group's European spokesman in August, said in a statement that "intrigue personal ambition and a struggle for power" were discrediting the group's representation abroad.

Mr Oliveira accused his successor, Mr Manuel Frank, and his associates of stirring up intrigues and communicating them to the group's leadership in the Mozambican bush. Mr Frank could not be reached for comment yesterday.

The guerrilla group, also known as Renamo has been fighting since 1977 to topple Mozambique's Marxist government.

Mr Oliveira said Mr Frank and his colleagues were too closely associated with former European spokesman Mr Evo Fernandes who was dismissed from the post in 1985.

Mr Oliveira said Mr Fernandes was not able to attract Mozambicans living in Portugal to join the movement. But he did not elaborate on the alleged factional wrangles within the group.

Mr Oliveira, Mr Frank and Mr Fernandes all hold Portuguese citizenship but were born or lived in Mozambique.

Mr Oliveira said he and an unspecified number of other militants, who also quit the group, would not form a dissident faction but would publish a news-sheet on Mozambique—Sapa-AP.

/12232

More Workers for East Germany
34000096c Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN
NEWSLETTER in English 24 Oct 87 p 4

[Text] Mozambique and East Germany have concluded an agreement on new programmes of cooperation concerning labour, industry and fishing. The agreement, signed for the Maputo government by Employment Minister Aguiar Mazula at the end of the last session of the joint economic commission, provides notably for an increase in the number of Mozambicans to be sent to East Germany to work. An official Mozambican source said the number was 7,000 before the signature of the agreement. Mr Mazula said the accord would make up for fall in the number of Mozambican miners employed in South Africa.

The Renamo rebel movement responded with a verbal attack on the agreement. A representative, Antonio Rocha, who used to be employed in the Mozambican foreign ministry, told a press conference in Washington on 5 October staged by the pro-Renamo Research Center on Mozambique that he was shocked by "mass deportations of young Mozambicans to various countries in the Soviet bloc, in particular the USSR." He claimed that 12,000 Mozambicans had been sent to East Germany, but he gave no figure for the Soviet Union.

/12232

Zimbabwe Power Plan Considered

34000096a Johannesburg *THE STAR in English*
5 Nov 87 p 6

[Text] Mozambique is studying the possibility of building power transmission lines from the Cahora Bassa Hydro-electric generating station into Zimbabwe.

This has been revealed by the Mozambican minister of cooperation, Mr Jacinto Veloso, who said the scheme, if successful, would enable at least some of the capacity of the giant Cahora Bassa scheme to be utilised.

The power station at Cahora Bassa has been idle for nearly 2 years. MNR rebels destroyed hundreds of pylons shortly before power was due to be transmitted to South Africa.

Talks are due to resume soon between South Africa and Mozambique on repairing power lines and selling electricity again to South Africa as was envisaged when the dam was built during Portuguese colonial rule.

Mr Veloso said that when electricity was flowing to South Africa, Mozambique received very cheap electricity whereas now his country was paying 1 million dollars a month for supplies from South African thermal power stations.

/12232

Gorongosa Struggles To Assist Refugees

34420007c Maputo *NOTICIAS in Portuguese*
13 Oct 87 p 8

[Text] Our reporters on the scene in Beira have verified the fact that, in Gorongosa, nearly 34,000 war refugees from various points of that district and from neighboring regions need urgent help in the way of food, medication, medical assistance, and clothing, in spite of the significant emergency support that the international community has showered on the area so far.

Completely naked babies, young people and adults "dressed" in tree bark to hide their genitals, along with men and women stunted by the poignant drama of hunger and nakedness, are currently abandoning the forest which has been invaded by the armed bands, and are flocking to the "Banana House" or to the headquarters of the district, where they are received by the base structures of the Provincial Emergency Commission.

Hundreds of dislocated people show up daily at the reception posts after a long trek through the forest, having escaped from the bandits, some of them fleeing from mistreatment by malefactors, others as a result of not finding the wherewithal to survive in the face of the effects of the war.

A critical aspect that needs to be pointed out is the weak health services network in this district: the lack of therapeutic material for the treatment of sick people is obvious, in addition to the lack of a doctor, as well as ambulances to evacuate seriously ill patients.

Consequently, the people in the country are forced to choose other alternatives, falling back on traditional treatment, which, in many cases, is inefficient and risky, and may produce effects ranging from physical or mental defects to death.

Marasmus, dysentery, tuberculosis, schistosomiasis, "kwashiorkor," malaria, mange, and gonorrhea—these are some of the most frequently encountered diseases in the region, as a consequence of malnutrition or lack of medical assistance.

The situation at the "Banana House," for example, has become more deplorable, to the point that four to six cases of infant mortality are being recorded daily, in spite of the great effort that is being made to evacuate the sick by giving them a ride in trucks belonging to individuals who happen to be passing through the area.

Gorongosa: 2 Years Later

While Mozambique and Zimbabwe intensify their joint action to completely eliminate the armed banditry which, in a sporadic way, is still prevalent in the regions, efforts are being coordinated in Gorongosa for the total recovery of that district, this time with new indicators to consolidate the victory won in 1985 with the attack on the "Banana House," which at that time was considered the main base of the armed bandits.

Now that 2 years of reconstruction have passed, it is possible to observe what used to be an area of concentration of defenseless people, and is now a region where people find the courage to take up arms and go into the forest until they find the bandits.

Trails that used to be unpassable or that were blocked by the malefactors currently serve as land trails over which people travel, with or without vehicles, to their destination.

The peasants of that region have again taken up their traditional activity, agricultural production. So, in the present 1987-1988 campaign, there are good prospects, after a year of harsh drought that devastated the region. In reality, the rains that have appeared this month lead one to believe that positive results are expected in the field of agricultural production. There is one doubt remaining, however—the delay in the arrival of the seeds to be sown, seeds that are anxiously awaited in the district.

Meanwhile, half a hectare of land per person has been distributed in a first phase, over and above a relatively compatible piece of land to satisfy the needs of construction of a dwelling or small infrastructures for raising small animal species which are prevalent in that district.

The children of peasants who were used by the armed bandits as forced workers are currently going to school, even outdoors, under a shade tree, once the few infrastructures that were won with national independence were destroyed by the war.

09895/09599

Farmland Distributed to Refugees
34420007d Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
13 Oct 87 p 3

[Text] Farmland in the district of Buzi, Sofala, is going to be turned over to nearly 1,000 people rescued from captivity from the armed bandits, with a view toward the 1987-1988 agricultural campaign. Meanwhile, 2,000 people rescued last year are engaged in preparing the land for the campaign, on which many hopes are riding.

According to Chivavisse Muchangaze, the administrator of the Buzi District, the farmland distribution program for displaced persons, with a view toward the upcoming campaign, has run parallel with the land distribution program for the construction of houses.

This official said to the NOTICIAS reporters: "These actions, in an accelerated phase, and involving both party and government structures in the district also prevent a careful study in the area of health from being done among the refugees, because we have recorded certain diseases in many of them."

Still within the intention of involving all those displaced by the war in production, members of the District Board of Agriculture and the District Delegation to Combat Natural Calamities are going to give greater assistance to the areas of cultivation so that the people in the most difficult situations will work and will feel that they are being supported.

Referring to the food situation, Muchangaze informed us that very serious problems do not exist right now, since "food for this year is guaranteed in a minimal way. At the least, every dislocated person, mainly those we freed last year, has something to enable him to survive."

"We do not feed our dislocated people with just rice or flour received as gifts or donations. We also give them vegetables and produce that we have grown," he stressed.

On the other hand, he lamented the lack of transportation to keep food moving on time, particularly to the localities of Ampara and Estaquinha. This situation forces many of the refugees to walk long distances to get food, sometimes going as far as the district headquarters.

Number of Rescued Persons Will Increase

"There is a great shortage of clothing in the district," Chivavisse Muchangaze said to us at another point of the contact established with the reporters in our delegation in Beira. "This means that the refugees, when freed from the bandits' captivity, continue for a long time using bags and the leaves of plants to hide their sexual organs."

He went on to say that the arrival of clothing (known as "calamity clothing") is anxiously awaited. This will be sent to the neediest centers, such as Estaquinha, Ampara, and Bandua, where, besides, there is a greater concentration of resettled people.

He then stressed the role played by the residents in the district of Buzi, who, in proportion to their possibilities, have given effective support to the refugees, particularly in food and housing construction.

Administrator Muchangaze called attention to the fact that, due to the fighting spirit of the Armed Forces of Mozambique and the offenses that have been launched lately with the goal of physically eliminating the bandits, it is to be expected that the number of refugees will increase considerably.

"People have been fleeing from the bandits' captivity as soon as they have an opportunity. First, as a result of the action of the Armed Forces of Mozambique, who are increasingly neutralizing the criminal action, which permits those people to return; and second, due to the hunger that is spreading throughout the whole area where the armed bands are keeping people subjugated," this official explained.

09895/09599

Marcelino dos Santos Praises Mozambican Schools in Cuba
34420007a Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese
13 Oct 87 p 1

[Text] Marcelino dos Santos, the president of the People's Assembly, said yesterday [12 October 1987] in Maputo that by celebrating the 10th anniversary of the Mozambican schools in Cuba, we are happily recalling the beginning of that beautiful act of internationalism, which will be forever recorded in the history of relations between Mozambique and Cuba. The president of the People's Assembly was speaking to the parents, education officials, professors, and former students in Cuba, and some internationalists who reside in the nation's capital, during a ceremony that marked the passing of the 10th anniversary of the creation of the Mozambican schools in that socialist nation of Latin America.

Present at the commemoration of this important event in the history of relations between the peoples, parties, and governments of the two countries were Minister of Education Graca Machel, the ambassador of Cuba to our country, Manuel Torres Muniz, and education personnel from different levels.

In an atmosphere turned festive as is the custom among Mozambicans and in which singing and dancing played a major role, Minister Graca Machel was the one who, for the first time, took the floor to establish the political and historical significance of the act, which within a few moments was to take place in the banquet hall of the Josina Machel secondary school.

With that hall completely packed with people, mostly parents and education officials, either of students who have already returned to the country or those who at this moment are pursuing their training in Cuba, Marcelino dos Santos' turn came next.

"Through the decision of President Fidel Castro and President Samora Machel, four schools were built in Cuba for Mozambican students," said the leader of the party and the state, later adding that this is the reason that as we celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Mozambique schools in Cuba, "we warily salute the effort and the internationalist direction of the Cuban Communist Party, its people, and its government, for this gesture of militant solidarity which gives form to the teachings of President Fidel Castro, according to which being an internationalist means paying our own debt to humanity."

After recalling the whole process that guided the selection of the first contingent of 1,200 Mozambican children who went to study in Cuba, Marcelino dos Santos stated that the scholarships granted to Mozambique "constitute a priceless contribution to the consolidation and development of the socialist revolution in our country."

The Cuban ambassador to Mozambique, Manuel Torres Muniz, in turn, spoke of the historical and political importance of the celebration of the 10 years that the Mozambican schools have existed in his country, pointing out that this kind of cooperation testifies to the growth of bilateral relations between the two countries and peoples.

"We have been following the performance of the Mozambican students in Cuba with great interest. We know that they have been the best, and the most diligent in their studies."

Numerical data furnished yesterday indicate that 6,591 students have successively passed through the Mozambican schools in Cuba from 1977 up to now. Already 4,610 students, 70 percent of whom have returned to Mozambique in various years, have graduated at the ninth-grade level. Some of these young people are pursuing their studies in diverse courses in the national educational system, while others have been fitted into productive sectors throughout the country.

09895/09599

POLITICAL

Launching of JEA's in Transvaal, OSF Possible
34000097b Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English
5 Nov 87 p 5

[Article by David Braun, Political Correspondent]

[Text] Joint legislatures for the co-governing of provinces and the non-independent homelands in each of the Transvaal, Free State and Natal are on the cards if the Joint Executive Authority launched in Natal this week proves successful.

Such a system, if introduced, would replace the white provincial councils scrapped last year and take over the important functions of the existing legislative assemblies in the self-governing states.

They would bring elected representatives of all population groups together to legislate and administer general affairs in each region, and would form an import component in the government's long-term power-sharing plans.

It is not clear what system is envisaged for the cape as this contains only the independent homelands, Transkei and Ciskei, which presumably would not be willing to trade autonomy for a share in what would amount to provincial government.

Senior government sources confirmed yesterday that the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, had asked the administrators of the Free State and the Transvaal to sound out homeland leaders in their provinces about forming Joint Executive Authorities (JEAs).

Transvaal Administrator, Mr Willem Cruywagen, revealed yesterday the Transvaal Provincial Administration had already begun the groundwork for a possible JEA between the TPA and the four black self-governing territories in the region.

Asked about the possibility of a joint Transvaal legislature, Mr Cruywagen said this was "very difficult to say."

Discussions had already been held with Lebowa, Gazankulu and kaNgwane. No contact had been made so far with kwaNdebele.

Areas in which joint authority might work were roads, nature conservation and library services.

Behind-the-Scenes Issues in UDF-Inkatha Violence Examined

34000097a Johannesburg *THE WEEKLY MAIL*
in English 30 Oct-5 Nov 87 pp 1, 3

[Article by Philip van Nickerk: "Behind the Lines in a Bloody War Which Has Claimed 150 Lives"]

[Text] Velaphi Ndlovu, KwaZulu MP for the Pietermaritzburg area and regional chairman of Inkatha, believes if an Inkatha member is killed by a member of the United Democratic Front, it is acceptable to take revenge by killing relatives of the UDF member.

"It's defence," said Ndlovu in an interview on Sunday. "Because if there was no attacker there would be no revenge."

"Revenge killing is not acceptable in the policy—but what can you do if your house is burnt down and the law won't do anything about that? You revenge yourself so he won't come back again."

"Ndlovu said when inkatha acted to "defend" itself, it used all kinds of weapons: "It can be the teeth—everything—as long as they are defending themselves, because life comes once, not twice."

A few hours later the sirens of ambulances could be heard in the distance as the brutal inkatha-UDF war, in which more than 150 people have died this year, continued to take its nightly toll.

Ndlovu was speaking after the local Inkatha committee met to discuss their remedy to the war: they want police stations handed over the Inkatha-run KwaZulu Government.

Not far away, the "enemy" was meeting in a darkened and sparsely furnished church in newly-liberated "Angola" (to get there you go left at "Moscow"), a section of the Edendale Valley, to form an area committee.

A youth activist opened the meeting by outlining the priorities of the community. These, he said, were defence committees to counter vigilante attacks; people's courts to discipline "comrades" who misbehave; and first aid committees to treat the battle wounded.

As he spoke, shafts of light illuminated the whites of the eyes of a row of delegates, none of whom could have been more than 12 years old.

Everyone—from the Chamber of commerce to the warring factions—is talking about the need for a truce to stop the killing.

But the factors which have turned Pietermaritzburg's black areas into a mini-Beirut go back more than 2 years and are deeply embedded in the politics of Natal.

The August 1985 consumer boycotts in Pietermaritzburg—partially spurred by the BTR Sarmcol dispute at Howick down the road—and the emergence of UDF-supporting youth congresses were regarded as politically threatening to Inkatha in an area where its support was not traditionally high.

According to Ndlovu's own figures, there are 53 functioning Inkatha branches in the area, with 40 to 100 people in each—a maximum of about 5,000 members out of more than half a million people in the area.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions has warded off a challenge in the area, centred on bus drivers, from the Inkatha-linked United Workers' Union of South Africa.

And although the June 1986 Emergency temporarily stunted the growth of the youth organisations, they have been regrouping strongly this year.

The current escalation of violence follows an Inkatha recruitment drive in Edendale which began in late July and August.

Though the area is semi-rural with traditional chiefs still in place, much of Edendale falls outside KwaZulu and the proximity of a big city has loosened the tribal sway of the Inkatha-supporting chiefs.

Siphiwe Khanyile, a field worker for the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness (Pacsa), said the trouble started when Inkatha began forcing people in Edendale to join them.

"It was a lot of money. People had to pay R5 if they were parents or R2 if they were students. The chiefs started in Harewood and moved systematically through the townships. People who didn't want to join were killed while others fled."

As an example, Khanyile cited a church meeting in Mpumaza in early September, where a chief said everyone had to join Inkatha and "woe unto them" who did not. "The next Tuesday a mother and her son who did not want to join Inkatha were killed."

Numerous residents told similar tales of conscription into the ranks of Inkatha, with bloody consequences for those who refused or were identified as UDF activists. It is understood that in many cases legal action is pending.

Even during the floods the recruitment drive did not let up. Mark Cornell, mayor of Pietermaritzburg said: "If Inkatha had wanted to make friends, they should have gone and helped the people instead of going and saying to them at 3 o'clock in the morning—sign this card or I'll kill you if you don't."

"On the Monday night, at the height of the floods, 13 people were killed.

Asked to comment on this yesterday, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the Inkatha general secretary said: "I don't think I need to give this respectability by responding to it. It is just the old story repeated without substantiation.

"It is a waste of time and perpetuates this conflict to respond to such allegations. We don't want to rake up these things. It is not in our interests to comment."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha president and KwaZulu chief minister, said Inkatha was a voluntary organisation.

"The kind of coercion alleged here is strictly contrary to the dictates of the movement. Unfortunately, the allegations do not record specific examples which would enable us to conduct an immediate investigation.

"Inkatha leadership would not tolerate such behavior.

"The allegations are typical of the propaganda aimed against Inkatha. The facts are that various groups are killing each other and this must stop. Numerous members of Inkatha have been butchered by pro-UDF elements and yet a concerted effort is being made to cover this up. Inkatha has been involved in peace initiatives for a considerable time and has done whatever it can to stop the carnage.

"I find it interesting that little mention is made of the extreme difficulty experienced by Inkatha in getting the UDF to bring its leadership grouping to the peace initiative," he said.

Though the initial pressures came from Inkatha's recruitment drive, Peter Kerchhoff, Pacsa organiser pointed out there had been tremendous retaliation against the organisation in the past months.

The best-publicised case was the KwaShange shooting on 16 September in which 13 members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade aged between 14 and 22 were locked in a house which was set alight. As they fled they were attacked and killed. Three policemen were arrested in connection with the killings.

Even the UDF does not deny that "a number of excesses" have been committed by members of the UDF-related defence committees patrolling the townships.

The UDF and Cosatu jointly issued pamphlets calling on their members to organise against the violence and not to retaliate against ordinary members of Inkatha.

The two organisations are involved in a bid to highlight the situation in the area and there are to be meetings with a wide range of organisation in the next few days to brief them on the violence.

A UDF statement issued this week said that though the township violence has reached crisis proportions "we in the UDF do not feel that we are the aggressors or the main culprits.

"In order to achieve an end to the violence, it is imperative that we be able to consult freely with our members and all the victims of vigilante violence.

"This is made very difficult by the activities of Inkatha supporters and is also restricted by the State of Emergency."

The claims coming from both Inkatha and the UDF are in some ways strangely similar. Both claim the South African Police are siding with their enemies.

Apart from the KwaShange massacre, a UDF youth activist said several black policemen living in the community had chosen to side with them because they too were victims of the recruitment campaigns.

However, he said, the general trend was that in cases where UDF people were murdered by known Inkatha supporters, no action was taken.

Ndlovu said the Plessislaer police station was "biased" against Inkatha because, he alleged, the police removed their weapons.

"Inkatha members are on the defending side," he said. "Some of our members, if they are being attacked and come out to defend themselves, are arrested, while those who are doing the defending are left along without their weapons."

He denied that Inkatha was involved in a recruitment drive and blamed the conflict on the UDF. He said the UDF was disrupting exams because "if the people don't pass at the end of the year, it means they are nothing. After that, they will be carrying guns on the other side of the fence because they are not educated. The UDF are the baby sitters of the ANC."

Both UDF and Inkatha leaders say they are in favour of peace talks—though a youth activists pointed out their priority was setting up the defence committees because "that is the only way we can stop them killing us. If we didn't embark on defence committees we would all have been forced to join Inkatha by now."

The apparent disparity between the sentiments of leaders and the war at the grassroots level has prompted definitions of the battle as being increasingly taken over by armed gangs of no particular political hue who are totally out of control.

The reality, as people like Kerchloff point out, is that the battle is fundamentally political.

Political antagonisms throughout Natal run so deep that the best outcome to be hoped for in a situation like Maritzburg's is a temporary truce.

On one hand, the militant youth congresses are involved in a fight against the apartheid system. They see Inkatha—as the government of KwaZulu for the past 12 years—very much as part of that system.

On the other hand, there is what Gerhard Mare of Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences describes as inkatha's desire to dominate all of Natal.

This, he says is part of a political strategy in terms of which Natal, and the boast of the support of 6 million Zulus, is a stepping stone for the Inkatha leadership on to the national political stage.

"It is very difficult in the long run to imagine Inkatha co-existing with the UDF and Cosatu," said Mare. "There is a very strong trend of saying they solely represent the interests of African people, or of peasants or workers. That approach means they can't allow something else to happen."

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ECONOMIC

SA Trade With EC Growing
34000993c Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
5 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Chris Cairncross]

[Text] Trade activity between SA and Europe is showing signs of picking up with the balance in favour of imports.

This is reflected in a sharp growth in containerised traffic from the Continent and Britain, according to the most recent reports from the Southern Africa Container Services (SAECS).

According to a spokesman for the shipping consortium, the 3 months between July and September saw the number of southbound containers increase by as much as 27 percent over the same period last year. This growth has since shown signs of being part of an ongoing trend, indicating an improving stirring in the domestic economy.

The pattern has caused SAECS to reintroduce its dual call at Port Elizabeth, the first arrival destined to be the Heemskerk, which arrives this week. A second dual call is scheduled for early next week in order to load export cargoes.

Tony Farr, executive director of Safmarine, major partner line in SAECS, notes that one of the effects of the recession has been to impress on shippers the need to minimise expensive inventories.

In order to work towards this goal, efforts have been devoted to offering a faster, more direct shipping service. This was now being done, resulting in the elimination of unnecessary feeder services.

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SA Trade With China Urged
34000092c Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY*
in English 4 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Dianna Games]

[Text] The People's Republic of China could become an important new trading partner for SA businessmen, say the organisers of a seminar on trade with the PRC held in Johannesburg this week.

Ralph Roblaa of international trading company Mutex said there had been a mixed response to the seminar, partly because it dealt with a communist country, but there had been much private sector interest.

Everyone was looking east, he said as Europe was a saturated market and trade with it could still be affected by sanctions.

It was important for South Africans to look for new markets, and to take advantage of the new open policy on international trade adopted by the PRC, he said.

But trading would have to be done via middlemen because of delicate political relations.

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Soweto Launches Program To Aid Small Business
34000091b Johannesburg *THE WEEKLY MAIL*
in English 30 Oct-5 Nov 87 p 16

[Text] This week saw yet another initiative to aid small black businesses when a group of black and white businessmen, headed by Soweto entrepreneur Willie Ramoshaba, launched a foundation to assist in the development of small black business.

Known as the Business Achievers' Foundation, the new body will provide loans as well as financial and educational counselling for black entrepreneurs.

Those already in the field include two of the big commercial banks and the Small Business Development Corporation.

Standard Bank's Small Business Development and Advisory Department provides training, support services and loans; while First National's Westbank is linked with Potchefstroom University's Small Business Advisory Bureau.

Nevertheless, the BAF trustees feel there is still a gap. According to Ramoshaba, "There have been many attempts to encourage the development of black business but none has answered our real needs or enjoyed significant success."

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Renewed Exports Obstacles Analyzed
34000091c Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English
5 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Mick Collins]

[Text] Threats of further sanctions, inflationary pressures and the improvement in the value of the rand present formidable obstacles to renewed export achievement, says the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa).

In its half-yearly review of the metal industries it says public and business confidence also continues to inhibit domestic growth.

"The prospect of an overall 3 percent growth rate now appears extremely remote, although there are tentative signs of higher overall levels of production for 1988."

And although the second half of 1987 is expected to show some improvement in performance in most sectors, substantial increases in production volumes remain unlikely.

The overall physical volume of production in the metal and engineering industries during the first 6 months of 1987 was no better than the corresponding period of 1986.

Recovery

On an index of 1980 equalling 100, both 6 month periods were measured at 86.3 percent, nearly 4 percent down on the second half of 1986.

"The hoped for recovery remains extremely sluggish and without considerable improvement in the second half of the year, it is unlikely that the metal industries will show any substantial improvement in production output over the previous year.

"By contrast, the index for all manufacturing in SA showed a 3.3 percent increase during the first half of 1987 over the same period in 1986, suggesting that the metal industries are lagging behind the recovery in other sectors of the economy."

Extremely competitive tendering is being experienced, especially in construction and heavy engineering sectors.

"This, coupled with rising material costs and the effect of sanctions, has resulted in reduced margins in both domestic and international markets."

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Johannesburg CBD Chamber of Commerce To Support Black Business
34000092a Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
4 Nov 87 p 10

[Article by Theo Rawana]

[Text] The recently-formed Johannesburg CBD Chamber of Commerce has taken on the immense task of representing a black city-centre business community which is disadvantaged from many angles, says Chamber Chairman Martin Sebesho.

"This is a vulnerable business community that finds itself in a strange world—the so-called white area," he says.

Sebesho runs his Controlled Management Dynamics (Comad) management consultancy from a suite on the 21st floor of a Johannesburg city-centre office block.

A graduate of both the University of the Witwatersrand and the University of the North, Sebesho is a founder member of the Black Management Forum (BMF), an Institute of Personnel Managers (IPM) counsellor, is registered with the SA Board of Personnel Practice and has done extensive research into black business.

Sebesho says the black businessman is rejected by the black community as mirroring white business-exploitative, opportunistic and deriving pleasure from the misery of the people.

The black political groups discard him as undesirable—a capitalist.

"And the white community looks at him in terms of race, instead of as a provider of goods and services," he says.

The chamber, an affiliate of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) through the Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce (Soutacoc), has set itself the task of representing this society—from hawkers to lawyers and consultants—articulating its grievances and aspirations, says Sebesho.

Lots of Opportunities

"There are lots of opportunities in free trade, but as individuals we are weak, coming into an established city in whose design we had no say. And we had no hand in formulating the rules governing the place.

"White chambers and representative structures in the city have not demonstrated attractive overtures to us, hence the chamber was formed as a force for black business in the CBD.

"Our objective is to respond to issues of concern to blacks. As an entity in the formative stages of business with no vast resources, the black man's handicap is to have to attract blacks, instead of consumers generally.

"It takes a year to be known by both blacks and whites.

"The chamber aims to cushion the budding businessman—help him to streamline his trade without facing high rentals.

"We are establishing a start-up fund, an advice centre with a data-base showing where to go for business, and will offer all resources at reasonable fees to help the black businessman acquire skills.

Legal Defence

"The chamber will conduct seminars and go on publicity campaigns to enhance the visibility of the trader. It will provide lobbying services in case of trouble with the law and landlords, including legal defence against the laws that might impede him."

Sebesho says the small businessman will have access to accounting services, and experts will be available to vet franchising proposals. A full-time research staff will probe every avenue with a view to helping the person concerned, be he a lawyer, an accountant, a butcher or a hawker.

"The chamber will address other black political groups, stating our role in the liberation campaign and getting deeply involved in policy issues with a view to defining a new economic policy for SA.

"We will be in constant contact with people who impact on our lives, selling a trend on a future economic policy as seen by the black businessman," he says.

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Dam To Supply Mossel Bay Gas Plant
34000092b Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English
26 Oct 87 p 4

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text] Pretoria—A R28m dam is to be built across the Great Brak River to supply water to the gas plant at Mossel Bay.

Announcing this in Pretoria at the weekend, Environmental and Water Affairs minister Gert Kotze said construction would start soon and a site could be established as early as this week.

The Wolvedans Dam will supply about 4.8-million m³ of water to the gas plant.

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Stainless Steel Industry in New Expansion Bid
34000093a Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English
30 Oct 87 p 8

[Article by David Furlonger, Industrial Editor]

[Text] The South African stainless steel industry is embarking on a concerted expansion drive.

Middleburg Steel and Alloys (MS&S), the country's only primary stainless steel producer, is throwing its weight behind an industry-wide campaign encouraging fabricators to pool resources and seek local and world markets.

The campaign—also supported by the SA Stainless Steel Development Association (Sassda)—includes a drive to increase local beneficiation of SA's enormous chromite reserves. This country has an estimated 85 percent of the world's reserves and accounts for one-third of international production of 11-million tons. In 1985, raw chromite exports earned SA nearly R150m.

Those exports, however, are used overseas to compete against SA Fabricated products. Chromite is smelted into ferrochromium, 95 percent of which is used in stainless steel manufacture. If SA were to improve its own smelting capabilities and those of downstream industries, it could create important opportunities.

Thousands of Jobs

Industry strategists estimate that by beneficiating locally, the country could create thousands of jobs and develop a thriving export industry. In terms of a long-term plan, chromite exports will continue to increase, but at a slower rate than that of downstream industries.

According to one projection, chromite exports of R150m in 1985 could rise 66 percent to R260m by 2010. Ferrochromium industry earnings could more than double from R820m to R1.9bn; primary stainless steel exports increase more than 10 times from R120m to R1.7bn; and fabricated product earnings 50-fold from R30m to R1.5bn.

There would also be a major impact on the jobs market, say the strategists. Employment in mining would rise from 10,000 to 25,000 in ferrochromium smelting from 5,000 to 13,000 in primary stainless production from 2,200 to 10,000, and in fabrication from 12,500 to 45,000.

Some supporters of beneficiation have suggested the first step is to build a steel mill capable of producing up to 1-million tons of stainless a year. To do so, however, would be to build a monumental white elephant.

There is no point in being able to produce all that steel unless there is a market for it. MS&A currently produces about 100,000 tons, of which approximately half is exported.

The export potential for SA primary stainless steel is limited by trade embargoes against this country and by protectionism. As long as SA is a tiny player, it is no threat. But to step up exports would be to invite retaliation.

Likewise, the domestic market is also limited at the moment. SA has one of the lowest per capita consumptions of stainless steel in the industrialised world. In West Germany, the figure is about 8 kg per person per year. Japan is only fractionally less, the United States is close to 6kg, and Britain over 3kg. SA consumption is a modest 1.16kg.

It is to increase this market penetration—both at home and abroad—that the strategy is aimed.

The industry is being asked to recognise that while the scope for additional primary stainless steel exports is minimal, the same does not hold true for fabricated goods such as pots and pans, railings, vehicle components and a host of other goods made from stainless.

"There is less sensitivity and easier access to the fabricated goods markets," says an MS & A official.

"We have always had the philosophy that we should export. Now, if we can sell to the local producer and get him to export the finished product, we all benefit. Jobs are created, value added and forex earnings improved."

New uses for stainless steel are being found all the time and demand is growing. It is time for local industry to grab a slice of that growth, say the strategists. International demand for MS & A's corrosion-resistant 3CR12 alloy—designed to partly bridge the cost gap between stainless and carbon steels—has proved what can be done.

But, the theory goes, individual fabricators cannot increase stainless penetration alone. Manufacturing sectors must combine to put across the stainless message. That means cooperation in promoting the industry, whether through trade shows, conferences, advertising, market information or export promotion. All these are areas where companies can cooperate without sacrificing the competitive advantage.

But the plan goes further. Many local companies have lost business because orders are either too big or have been placed at too short notice.

A Part of the Pie

Do as the Taiwanese do, say the planners, and subcontract. Put in combined bids to win an order. Better a part of the pie than none at all. In the long run, it establishes local industry as a reliable supplier and leads to more business in the future.

Local industry officials acknowledge there are drawbacks to stainless steel, not least its cost in relation to traditional steels. But they say that, in the long-term, the life-cycle costs of a low-maintenance, corrosion-free steel more than make up for the initial cost difference.

"The world is waking up to the advantages of stainless steel," says Sasda Director Ian Elsdon-Dew.

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SOCIAL

West's Policy Toward Country Should Be Shaped by Reality Not Fantasy

34000090b Braamfontein FRONTLINE in English
Aug/Sep 87 pp 23-25

[Last month, FRONTLINE published an excerpt from an article by Peter L. Berger and Bobby Godsell, with acknowledgement to Commentary. In response to readers requests, herewith the rest.]

[Text] "The West" has long been an important presence in the politics of South Africa. "South Africa" has now become, at least for a time, a significant political issue in Western democracies. The quotation marks are indicated because this mutual imagery is a tangle of realities and fantasies, the latter often appearing as projections of pathology from a particular Western society to a rather conveniently distant place. It is hardly necessary at this late stage to elaborate on the pathologies of South African society, based as it is on a racial caste system, apartheid, that is not only morally odious in every way but may also be seen as the major obstacle to economic and social development. What may be less obvious is that it has been enormously convenient for South Africans of all races and ideological persuasions to blame the West in general and the United States in particular for the enraging frustrations of their country. Those in opposition to the regime blame the West for not doing enough to end apartheid; the regime itself, and even more those to the Right of the regime, blame it for destructive meddling in South African affairs; and sundry groups in between blame it for not promoting whatever agenda they deem necessary to save the country. But, conversely, people in the West too have used South Africa as a ventilation valve for their own moral and political frustrations, finding in it a convenient surrogate or an easy analogy for issues at home whose complexity has rendered them intractable.

The fantasy component in this reciprocal game of projection is massive, as when black resistance groups seem seriously to believe that some simple decisions taken in Washington could blow away the present government; or when many white South Africans think that the West will not and cannot abandon them in a final crunch; and no less so when anti-apartheid activists in the United States and Europe imagine that just a few more pushes from the West will see a liberation army march victoriously into Pretoria.

We will have some observations about a number of these fantasies. But first of all, we would stress that in a situation as full of passion as this one, nothing is more useful than to insist on a full and frank consideration of the *realities*. Indeed, it is precisely because blind passions have so often brought about evils greatly more horrendous than the ones against which outrage was originally directed that true moral responsibility dictates a relentless attention to facts and probabilities. And this is especially so when people in complete or relative safety initiate chains of events in which others are made to pay the costs. What we propose to do here, therefore, is enumerate a number of realities with which, in our opinion, those in the West seeking to help bring about a humane future for South Africa must reckon.

People naturally try to understand the unfamiliar in terms of the familiar. Thus many Westerners, perhaps especially in Europe, look at South Africa as a case of tardy decolonisation. Many Americans, for their part, perceive the radical conflict in South Africa in terms of their own civil-rights struggle. Both perceptions are dangerously misleading.

South Africa cannot be decolonised because it is not a colony. Its white population, both English- and Afrikaans-speakers, is overwhelmingly *indigenous*. Though as many as half-a-million whites may be eligible to carry British passports, even if all were to leave (representing more than 40 years' worth of current annual emigration), some 4 million whites would be left. For if the ties of English-speaking South Africa to England are tenuous, those of Afrikaners to Holland, France, or Germany are virtually nonexistent. Their name is indeed appropriate. Here is a people, the Afrikaner *volk*, who turned their backs on Europe some 200 years ago and created a highly distinctive culture different from any other on earth. They cannot "go home"; they *are* home. These are the crucial facts which preclude the decolonisation analogy. More importantly, no black resistance group has ever called for whites to leave.

Not only is South Africa not a "colonial regime"; it is not even a neocolonial one. It is a racially and ethnically heterogeneous country, in many ways a nation-in-the-making rather than a nation, in which since 1948 one ethnic group has exercised a hegemony of power within a grotesque political system which combines a flawed democracy for whites with sort of racial feudalism for blacks. This is not a nation needing liberation from an

alien ruler, but rather a nation yet to be forged. The present conflict is about the shape that this nation will take and about the question of who will have the power to do the shaping.

Nor is South Africa's contemporary conflict a replication of the civil-rights struggle in the United States. First, the numerical relations between whites and blacks are drastically different (in fact, more or less reversed). Secondly, the American civil-rights struggle took place within a democratic constitutional framework already firmly in place and under a legitimating body of ideas, the "American creed," which made racial segregation an increasingly obvious political and moral aberration. By contrast, the essence of the present conflict in South Africa is not a struggle for civil rights, but a struggle for power and for nationhood.

Concerning that struggle, perhaps no proposition has been as much taken for granted in recent Western debates as that some sort of racial Armageddon is both inevitable and imminent in South Africa. The title of the influential Rockefeller report, "Time Running Out," captures this sense of foreboding. More recently, similar claims have been made with regard to the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group report. Nor is this so only with eternal analysts. Thus the foreword to the Buthelezi Commission report notes that it probably presents the last opportunity for peaceful negotiation.

It is not difficult to understand why this proposition of imminent cataclysm has been plausible to so many people. When one looks at a morally untenable social reality, one is tempted to consider it empirically untenable as well. But morally untenable realities, alas, often endure over long periods of time. Ever since 1917 Russian emigres have been telling each other that Bolshevism is so horrible that its end must be coming soon. And indeed, according to statements dating back as far as the turn of the century, the South African clock has been stuck for decades at five minutes to midnight. Why is the expectation of imminent cataclysm unrealistic? Because neither the overthrow of the present regime through armed struggle nor the perpetuation of black political impotence through armed repression is possible. The first is excluded by the harsh realities of military power, the second by the inescapable interdependencies of industrialisation.

The defeat of the present rulers of South Africa would require a military force at least equal in numbers, equipment, and logistical support to that of the South African defence Force. This means an army of half-a-million men, with appropriate air and naval support. Present estimates put African National Congress (ANC) guerrillas somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000 and those of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) at fewer than 1,000. Most of these guerrillas are based far from South

Africa's border, and can only enter the country in small numbers. While capable of spectacular acts of sabotage and terror, such forces pose no serious match for those of the South African regime.

If the resistance movements themselves offer little military challenge to South Africa, the prospect of a Pan-African force, though often the subject of Organisation of African Unity discussion, seems remote even if augmented by Cuban, East German or other Soviet-allied troops.

One further "military" option demands consideration: the demoralisation of the regime by urban terrorism, sabotage, and similar acts of low-scale violence, to the point where the regime "gives up." Most successful revolutions in modern history have followed this pattern rather than that of outright military victory. However, as Lenin among others well understood, such a strategy assumes that the armed forces of the regime will at some point either join the revolutionaries or just go home. It is very difficult indeed to imagine either eventuality in the South African context.

In other words, short of massive military intervention by one of the great powers (an absurd hypothesis in the case of the West and an unlikely one in the case of the Soviet bloc), the present South African regime cannot be defeated militarily within the foreseeable future.

The South African government understands this parallelism of forces very well, and this helps to explain its truculence. Nevertheless, military might alone cannot grant the government the power to avoid radical changes in the present political structure.

To put the case more accurately, the regime could maintain itself, probably for a long time, by brute force alone—but only if it were converted into a fully articulated totalitarian system. Such a conversion would demand a heavy price in what most white South Africans, including the members and supporters of the present government, want for themselves and their future. These costs would be counted in moral, political, and especially economic terms. South African is a very different country from, say, the Soviet Union in the heyday of Stalinist repression. South African is highly industrialised, with modern infrastructures which require an at least minimally cooperative labour force. The recent confrontation between the management and the labour force of the state-run railways and postal services provide vivid illustrations of the interdependencies created by modernity.

The inescapable conclusion to be drawn from these considerations is that if the country is not to be destroyed, there is no alternative to the forging of a new

political system in which all South Africans can participate. What is more, such a system cannot be unilaterally imposed by the present regime "through the barrel of the gun"; it will have to be established through the give and take of negotiations.

But is it already "too late for negotiations" (which is another way the expectation of imminent catastrophe in South Africa is formulated)? On the contrary: it is too early for negotiations. The reason is both depressing and simple. Parties to a dispute begin negotiations when they have concluded that victory on their terms is not possible. The major parties in its particular conflict are the South African regime and the major resistance groupings. Significant elements in each continue to believe that they can "win." The regime continues to believe that it can coercively impose its notions of "reform"; many in the resistance groupings think that determined struggle will lead to the complete collapse of the apartheid regime.

Thus the ANC has pithily summed up its position by saying that the only thing to negotiate is "the modalities of the transfer of power." What this formula seeks is, in essence, unconditional surrender. On the government side, when a senior official was recently asked what the regime intends to do in the wake of Western sanctions, he replied: "Why do you feel we should do anything?"

No doubt more realistic assessments are being made both at ANC headquarters in Zambia and at the South African government offices in Pretoria. But as long as this cocky assurance marks the public postures of major actors in the South Africa drama, negotiations are long way off.

The fact that neither the regime nor its putatively revolutionary opponents can "win" on their own terms has combined with the fact that conditions are still not ripe for negotiations to create a stalemate that may well persist for some time. It is a very unhappy stalemate, filled with human suffering, deprivation, anger, and death, disproportionately borne by ordinary South Africans, particularly ordinary black South Africans. However, the stalemate has also created the *time* and *space* for second thoughts, new initiatives, compromise solutions. Here again, if advantage is to be taken of those opportunities, an attention to the realities is necessary, beginning with a recognition that neither the regime nor the resistance is a monolithic as many seem to think.

The South African government is often portrayed, both outside and inside the country, as fully united in its determination to hang on to its present political hegemony at any cost. Yet the ruling National Party must reckon with all sorts of fissures within even the Afrikaans-speaking population whose support it once took for granted, not to mention its now numerically significant white English support, as well as its putative partners of colour. Prominent defections; sharp Afrikaans media criticism; the remarkable revolt of Afrikaner

academics and, probably most important in the long run, the anti-apartheid noises coming out of the Dutch Reformed Church—all these are developments that would make it very hard for the regime to follow a defiant "*laager*" strategy.

Strategies for change in South Africa need to be framed in terms of years, perhaps even decades. Undoubtedly this is difficult and frustrating, but it is necessary if the change desired is to be both an improvement on the present, and enduring over time. What is called for here is the creation of a radically new political system—and, to boot, one that is democratic, and that will promote economic growth, not preside over economic demise. This means a process of establishing new institutions. Anyone who thinks that such a task can be accomplished quickly, or especially in one cathartic act of redemptive violence, has learned nothing from the history of modern revolutions.

Western sanctions provide an appropriate example of the political implication of short-term time frames. The advocates of sanctions argued that they would create mounting economic pressures which in a brief span (within months!) would force the South African government to change its ways for the better. The intention, it was said, was not to destroy the South African economy but to "bring Pretoria to its senses."

Evidence to date indicates the opposite effects: The South African economy is in a state of modest but clear recovery; Pretoria has become more and not less truculent; Western influence over political developments seems reduced rather than enhanced. Thus expectations of the short-run consequences of punitive economic measures seem in the process of being disappointed (a fact that appears to be achieving recognition among some anti-apartheid activists in the West).

On the other hand, it is quite possible that in the long run sanctions will hurt the South African economy. Everything depends on just how long a run one envisages for this damage to come about, and what one believes its political consequences will be. Divergent views exist as to the longer-term consequences of sanctions. Some think that further import-substitution, as well as the indigenisation of capital assets, will promote economic growth in government regulation, a wasteful allocation of economic resources. But in any event, few can disagree that a situation in which South African, as a developing nation, is forced to be a net capital exporter must negatively affect long-term growth prospects. What will be the political consequences of such retarded growth? Does economic hardship promote moral behavior and political boldness?

There are also moral implications to the choice between a short-term and a long-term time frame. For example, a school boycott was advocated in 1985 and 1986 under the slogan "Liberation now, education later." A plausible slogan—if "liberation" can be expected in the near

future. But what if this desired event should tarry for at least a decade? And what would be the consequences for a "liberated" South Africa of a young generation schooled in nothing but street violence? There can be no doubt that it was questions such as these which prompted the large-scale return to school in early 1987. It makes moral sense to have children sacrifice, say, one school year on behalf of a political cause; it is quite another matter to sacrifice the future life chances of an entire generation.

For another example, a state goal of many resistance groupings has been to make the black townships ungovernable. This has involved conflicts which pit children armed with sticks and gasoline cans against armored vehicles and automatic rifles. Once again, such a strategy might make sense if the time frame were a year or so (and indeed, if victory were in sight); it is a very different calculus if one envisages a decade of such uneven combat.

A second purpose of sanction is moral suasion—"sending a message" to the South African government. Many who advocate such "message-sending" strategies, however, view the South African government as the moral equivalent of the Third Reich. There is a contradiction here. No one in his right mind would have made moral appeals to Adolf Hitler. Moral appeals make sense only when directed at people with whom one shares a universe of moral discourse. If one expects the South African regime to respond to moral suasion, one cannot at the same time treat it as a moral pariah. Not surprisingly, the effect of the most recent "message" to Pretoria from the United States has been to convince important elements of the regime that there is nothing they can do to please Washington short of surrender, and that they might as well pursue their perceived interests without regard to Western reactions.

As to the other intended audience of American moral messages, black South Africans, and perhaps blacks elsewhere on the continent, the results are likely to be equally futile. Most people in the world, of whatever race, are either uninterested in America or favorably inclined toward it. Those who dislike or hate America are typically motivated by envy and resentment, *not* by moral outrage. The notion that Black Africans will be grateful to America because of stands taken on their behalf belongs in the curriculum of a moralist's Sunday School, not in serious political discussion. In this regard, one could do worse than recall the reply of Metternich when asked how his government would show its appreciation to Russia for the help rendered in suppressing the Hungarian rebellion of 1848: "Austria will astonish the world by its ingratitude."

Attractions of Encouraging Shareholding Among Workers Examined

34000077a Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL
in English 23 Oct 87 pp 41-42

[Text] Could the emergence of hard-hat shareholders reduce trade union power and influence? If workers hold shares in the companies that employ them, the argument goes, they'll think twice about harming their stake by striking. Where would that leave unions?

Taken further, might this alluring prospect be the beginnings of "people's capitalism" in SA, similar to the trend in Margaret Thatcher's Britain?

There, the number of individual shareholders has more than quadrupled to 9m since 1980—largely linked, of course, to privatisation of State-run corporations. Many hold little more than a couple of hundred British Telecom or TSB.

According to historian Paul Johnson, there are now more shareholders than union members in Britain. And the Labour Party has been forced to take them into account: the satirical magazine PRIVATE EYE recently featured on its cover Labour leader Neil Kinnock, sporting a top hat and declaring: "Comrade shareholders..."

But of course, SA is not the U.K. The temptation to see shares for workers in SA as a panacea, or way to undercut unions, ought, in this early phase at least, to be resisted. Anglo American's chief labour officer bobby Godsell observes that "giving workers first-hand experience of equity participation and capitalism is a good thing, but anyone who believes share will blunt trade union pressure is under an illusion." Workers will still rely on collective bargaining for better wages and work conditions, he says.

The arguments in favour of popular share-owning (as THE ECONOMIST recently put them) may apply even more strongly here.

More people would come to understand about risk and reward, profits and the profit motive; and if this commercial culture takes hold, commerce as a whole is likely to be more successful. The important point is also made that to encourage more people to own shares, the tax system should be tailored to encourage this form of investment.

Pretoria would be wise to act on this advice.

The attractions of replicating Thatcher's "share-owning democracy" cannot be lost on business. Given black unions' advocacy of socialism, business' attempt to show the benefits of free-enterprise capitalism could wean workers away from collectivist solutions.

Where better to start than in the industrial relations terrain, the only real forum of black-white negotiation? (It has also, since the emergency, unfortunately become the only overt avenue for black militancy.)

Understandably, black suspicion of "racial capitalism" runs deep because of their historic, legislated exclusion from its benefits.

So National African Chamber of Commerce (Nafcoc) chief San Motsuenyane gives this advice: offering workers shares "has to be done in consultation with them, not be just another paternalistic gesture."

Motsuenyane says that for years Nafcoc has led the debate on equity and business participation of blacks, pointing out that the future of free enterprise is bleak if blacks are not involved—and given a stake they could lose.

They need more opportunities, including capital to start their own enterprises.

"Until 10 years ago, it was illegal for blacks to form companies, so they've been very suspicious all along," he adds. "Blacks need to be evangelised about the real benefits of capitalism; it must be on a voluntary basis, and in consultation. It should not be a case of buying off black loyalty, nor seen as a way to blunt the cutting edge of unions."

"Shares shouldn't be brought in at the expense of better wages and other conditions."

Motsuenyane supports a strong demand the unions also make if they're to accept share participation. He says that "coming into a company without being able to permeate policymaking could be frustrating. The more you bring blacks in, the more they need to be involved at boardroom level, which must not be tokenism."

This ties in with an observation by recently listed Jazz Stores MD Mark Lambertini, who told the Institute of Personnel Managers: "Profit-sharing without power-sharing is paternalism, in contradiction of the free market..."

According to Motsuenyane, who believes "free enterprise will ultimately have to prevail in SA," many young blacks favour socialism because capitalism has excluded them. "If that door is sincerely opened and all kinds of mechanisms are created to bring them in, support for socialism will decline."

"In future, we will have to make a choice between moving into established enterprises or nationalising them. If we're not moving in, there'll come a time when the first move is to nationalise to give blacks a stake."

Cosatu—the biggest trade union federation representing about 1m workers—and its major affiliates are opposed to the idea of workers holding shares in the companies they work for.

"Workers are offered shares without any real control over the company's direction and activity," explains Cosatu's Alec Erwin. If management wants workers to benefit, it should instead bargain in good faith and meet Cosatu's Living Wage Campaign.

Erwin says profit-sharing via shares and dividends would be minimal, compared to above-inflation wage increases and improved service conditions demanded by unions.

He adds that it is important for unions to respond to the schemes, as Cosatu sees them as "an explicit attempt to weaken unions," and not a long-term solution. From an employer's viewpoint, claims Erwin, offering workers share participation, without any control, is cheaper than strong collective bargaining.

These views, Erwin maintains, are based on those canvassed among rank and file members, and the position is supported by the majority of workers. Cosatu is, however, said to be discussing the idea of share trusts controlled by unions, particularly since the onset of disinvestment.

Triggered by the disinvestment of foreign-owned companies such as Ford, Coca-Cola, and Standard Chartered, employee share schemes have only recently captured the imagination of local companies. In the past three weeks alone, says the independent Labour & Economic Research Centre (Lerc), 18 newly listed companies have offered employee shares schemes. Lerc estimates that between 35-50 companies have them, in addition to about 100 listed companies.

JSE assistant manager, listings, Doug Gair, says share schemes for workers are still in their infancy, but are a growing trend among newly listed companies. The schemes vary, but their underlying principle is the same, he says, adding that they are a good idea if widely applied, and have proved beneficial to the companies.

The number of workers affected is now known but is so far relatively small. New listings with such schemes tend to affect small numbers and they generally do not have a union presence.

Bigger employers in the process of extending shares to employees are Pick 'n Pay, Coke-Amalgamated Beverage Industries, and Ford—and these have yet to prove themselves acceptable in the face of union opposition.

Anglo's scheme—details to be announced next month—will be open to about 250 000 black workers. Chairman Gavin Relly has said Anglo wants the offer to apply pretty widely, and it "is obviously going to mean a limited involvement for any individual."

Pick 'n Pay recently announced a wider share ownership scheme, which could give 50 percent of employees a stake in the company in four years—if its four-for-one share split plan and existing options are accepted.

Eligibility criteria could be lowered to five years' service, or assistant manager level. Details await approval by the board.

The company accepts the importance of consultation with the union before introducing the plan, and begins discussions with the Commercial, Catering & Allied Workers Union, a Cosatu affiliate, this week. However, no form of "codetermination"—a union representative on the board, say—is envisaged.

The company believes, instead, that "enlightened" management practice is the way to go, explains spokesman Rene de Wet.

In the wake of divestment, Amalgamated Beverage Industries (ABI), which used to be under Coca-Cola ;US's control, has offered 11m R1 shares to its largely black workforce of 3 500, as well as its 7 000 small dealers. The dividend is 11 percent, and the shares carry an SA Breweries-guaranteed repurchase price of R1,60 in 18 months.

Though the offer has been rejected in principle by the main union concerned, Food & Allied Workers' (Fawu), ABI says about 50 percent of employees have bought shares (*three weeks before the offer closes on October 30).

It's not known how many dealers have bought, though an ABI spokesman says about R1m worth have been purchased by dealers.

Interestingly, the Soweto Chamber of Commerce has rejected the offer since it offers no control.

Fawu's senior shop steward at Coke, George Nene, tells the FM that workers at shopfloor level have turned down the offer. This emerged from a meeting in August where the issue was not directly voted on, but "consensus was reached."

Nene describes the offer as "a ploy to blunt workers' militancy and make them believe they are part and parcel of the company." He says workers would rather have improved wages and working conditions, and housing and education subsidies. "We're in a fight with capitalism and apartheid."

Workers at Ford-Samcor have been offered a share owing scheme with a difference. As part of its pull-out, Ford is offering to place 24 percent of the equity into a trust fund for workers.

The metal workers' union (Numsa) is still considering the offer. Based on earlier statements, it may well reject it. The proposed scheme also entails two union representatives on Samcor's board.

Board representation of the union is a logical next step, and makes sense in the drive to sell the culture of capitalism to blacks.

It seems union members would, however, rather have the money. The union has calculated that selling the shares back to the company could mean R25 000 per worker, which may be more attractive to them.

Overall, the share offers are a fascinating microcosm of local political perceptions. A degree of worker-management conflict is inevitable. Companies offering participation schemes seem to have motives ranging from the benign to the astute.

Perfect symbiosis in the labour field is impossible, which does not mean that sincere attempts to convince workers of the benefits of capitalism are doomed because of union attitudes. For once, SA is in line with world trends.

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Sixth Brigade Barracks To Be Built Near Gweru
34000094a Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE
in English 30 Oct 87 p 7

[Text] A multi-million dollar new barracks complex likely to cost between \$63 to \$67 million is to be constructed near Gweru by the Zimbabwe National Army as a base for the recently commissioned Sixth Brigade.

The date when work will start is believed to be still under negotiation. Informed sources in Harare said this week that bids for the barracks contract have already been received from Costain (Africa) Ltd in cooperation with John Sisk and Son, and also from the China National Compete Plant Export Corporation.

A recent report on the planned new barracks published in the African Economic digest last week noted that Yugoslavia's local Energoprojekt company had declined an invitation to bid for the proposed new barracks.

The siting of another large army base near the city, in addition to the Fifth Brigade and Thornhill air base, is a welcome prospect for the municipality. Businessmen to expect that its "spin-off" effects in the future would greatly improve commercial industrial and employment prospects in and around Gweru.

Stands

Several residents said this week that it could result in shortages of services residential and commercial stands in the municipal area, so pushing up prices. They hoped that the city council would embark on work to increase the serviced sites available, especially those in high density areas.

A spokesman for the Gweru Town Clerk's office, however, said that Gweru had an on-going programme for developing more high-density residential stands, as well as commercial and industrial sites.

"As far as we are concerned, we are able to accommodate anyone who wishes to take up serviced stands here. All they need do is to get in touch with this office," he said.

"We very much welcome news that another army barracks is to be constructed at Gweru. It will give a big boost for the city generally because it will mean more buying power, more employment and more calls for services. It is a very good prospect."

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Indian Floppy Disc Technology Offered
34000095c Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE
in English 30 Oct 87 p 11

[Text] An Indian Government corporation is offering technology for the manufacture of 8-inch and 5.25-inch computer floppy diskettes.

The semi-automatic plants and machinery on offer cost US\$500,000 per unit and each has an annual production capacity of 2 million diskettes.

The plant and machinery require 120 KVA of electricity, a space of 10,000 square feet, and about 100 people to man it. Coated film and jackets are the major raw materials and components.

Complete know-how of the plant will be transferred on a turnkey basis and necessary training will be provided by the manufacturers. Further information can be obtained from the Managing Director, Electronics Trade and Technology Development Corporation, Ltd, Akbar hotel Annex, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi 110 021, India.

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Local Firms To Become Kenya's Major Suppliers of Goods
34000095b Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE
in English 30 Oct 87 p 27

[Text] Zimbabwe will soon become Kenya's major supplier of goods which are currently imported from Europe, local businessmen who recently attended the Nairobi International Fair, predicted this week.

They told the GAZETTE that the Kenya market presents a tremendous potential, in spite of such problems as transport, foreign currency shortages and high tariff rates for some products.

Mr Danny Meyer, managing director of Surgimed, said he believes trade between Zimbabwe and Kenya could become a model example of intra-regional cooperation.

Surgimed is now breaking into the east African markets for the first time and has already won a small trial order of wheelchairs from Kenyan Airways. Mr Meyer is confident more orders will be placed soon.

He said the company was encouraged to discover that the products it manufactures here in Zimbabwe are not currently produced in Kenya. Therefore, there is "a tremendous" potential to increase exports.

Although transport could present problems, Mr Meyer said efforts should be made to utilise the available routes. It is "a chicken and egg situation," but trade must be developed to encourage such people as road haulers to offer services between the two countries.

Mr A. Harris, of Harlequin Furniture Manufacturers, said the quality of furniture made in Zimbabwe is second to none in the SADCC and PTA regions. His company's products were "well received" at the fair, and many contacts were made.

He thought, however, that the fair will not be the best medium to sell their products. Instead, he said the ideal strategy to break into the Kenyan market is to appoint an agent who is "always on the spot making deals... It is very important because of the stiff competition we might face."

Mr D.W. Burlington-Scott managing director of Blooms Manufacturing, said his company's presence at the Nairobi fair was "a worthwhile exercise" judging by the numerous enquiries which were received. Substantial confirmed orders are expected soon.

He feels, however, that any success in the Kenyan market will be determined by a reduction in tariff rates for furniture products, which are as high as 70 percent. This makes it "extremely difficult" to export to Kenya, he said. "However, we are very confident of the future. There is a tremendous potential for your company to enter this market," said Mr Burlington-Scott.

Another Zimbabwean firm, Taurus Spraying Systems, was not that enthusiastic. It felt that the fair was "a waste of time." The company manufactures a wide range of agricultural spraying equipment.

"Kenya has got everything much more than we have got," said Mr J. Davis, the marketing manager. He said that [the] country can import products much quicker from Europe than from Zimbabwe.

The market potential is there, but the company has to face competition from established suppliers in such countries as Brazil and India. Mr Davis said he will "probably go back to meet the distributors... I am expecting some deals."

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Emigration, Immigration Statistics
34000095a Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE
in English 30 Oct 87 p 27

[Text] Emigration from Zimbabwe is expected to rise to 5,000 before the end of the year. In the 8 months to August, 3,363 people left the country.

In the past few years the emigration rate had slowed considerably, from 19,067 in 1983, to 3,787 in 1986.

According to the RAL Merchant Bank's latest Executive Guide to the Economy, the country recorded a net migration gain of 665 people in 1986, the second gain since 1975—but experienced a net loss of 576 people in the first 8 months this year.

Most immigrants in 1986 were returning Zimbabweans, followed by those from Zambia and Britain. Of the 4,452 immigrants, 1,775 were new immigrants, 1,683 were temporary residents, and 994 were returning residents.

In the 8 months ended August 1987, 445 of the 2,787 immigrants are thought to have been new, while about 40 percent were on temporary permits, said guide.

More than 650 emigrants in 1986 were professional, technical and related workers, and another 342 left the country in the first 4 months of this year.

Visitors from abroad totalled 433,372 in 1986, the highest number on record and 11.24 percent higher than the 1985 figure. In the first 8 months of 1987, there were 258,875 visitors, a 5.5 percent fall on 1986's corresponding period, according to the guide.

Residents visiting foreign countries dropped in 1986, numbering 184,121 compared with 274,198 in 1985. Indications are that a little less than 160,000 people will visit foreign countries this year.

South African visitors constituted 35.8 percent of the total number of visitors in 1986. Zambia formed the second largest source of visitors.

About 35 percent of all visitors used air transport in 1986, and 55.4 percent used road transport. Rail transport carried 9.6 percent of visitors. Over \$40 million in foreign currency is likely to have been brought in by visitors last year, the bulk of whom were holiday makers.

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